A
000 132 359
1
UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
California
gional
cility

L. f. 5.

Mrs H. de Castro with
the authors respects

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/twolecturesonlif00beniiala

TWO LECTURES

ON

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

MAIMONIDES.

MOSES SON OF MAIMON.

TWO

LECTURES

ON THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

MAIMONIDES,

DELIVERED AT

The Jews' and General Literary and Scientific Institution,

BY Dr. A. BENISCH,

MEMBER OF THE LONDON PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, AND OF THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, PROFESSOR OF THE HEBREW AND GERMAN TO THE INSTITUTION.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED A LIST OF THE WORKS OF MAIMONIDES, ELUCIDATORY NOTES, AND AN ENUMERATION OF WORKS CONTAINING INFORMATION RELATIVE TO MAIMONIDES.

"No species of writing seems more worthy of cultivation than Biography, since none can be more delightful or more useful, nor can more certainly enchain the heart by irresistible interest or more widely diffused instruction to every diversity of condition."
Rambler.

LONDON:
WERTHEIM, ALDINE CHAMBERS, PATERNOSTER ROW;
ALSO TO BE HAD OF
FRANZ THIMM, GERMAN AND FOREIGN BOOKSELLER, 8, MARYLEBONE STREET, REGENTS QUADRANT; AND AT THE LIBRARY OF THE JEWS' AND GENERAL LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION, SUSSEX HALL, LEADENHALL STREET.

1847.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY MELDOLA, CAHN, & CO.,
18, St. Mary Axe, City.

TO

HANANEL DE CASTRO, ESQ.

PRESIDENT OF THE JEWS' AND GENERAL LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION.

Dear Sir,

In dedicating these Lectures to you, I give expression to those feelings of profound admiration and respect with which your private and public character, the conciliating and dignified position occupied by you, and especially your relation to Sussex Hall, inspire every well-wisher of the community. Your station in society, your liberality and influence, have endowed with vitality a beautiful and benevolent idea, while you yourself have been the chief agent in giving it form and substance, in ushering it into life, in nursing its infancy, and in maturing its growth. You have not only given it—what many have conferred—pecuniary assistance, but you have bestowed that which is far more valuable — that which alone can promote success—attentive vigilance, individual exertions,

2094327

and personal attendance. But for the existence of such an establishment, suited to the peculiar wants of the greater portion of our community, I could not have had the gratification of discoursing to a Jewish audience on a Jewish subject, on the Jewish day of rest and devotion.

May you long continue to exercise that salutary influence which will extend to after-generations; and which, unlike worldly grandeur, that perishes, or riches, "which make themselves wings," survives, and insures the grateful commemoration of an improved and benefitted posterity.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful and humble servant,

A. Benisch.

TO THE READER.

The scarcity of publications in the English language calculated to raise Jewish feelings, and suited to be placed with advantage in the hands of the Jewish youth, has ever been to me a matter of deep regret. Instructed from childhood to recite the exploits of heathens, and to admire their productions, the Jewish youth bestow but little attention on the annals of their own race. Surrounded by Christian influences, taught to connect with Christianity the ideas of progress and civilisation, the advance and development of the virtues distinguishing our age—in a word, inhaling, as it were, a Christian atmosphere—the Jewish youth think, and are even made to believe, that the records of their nation pourtray no character worthy to shine by the side of those they are wont to admire, nor exhibit any trait fit to adorn the page of history. It is therefore not surprising that they look with indifference or even with contempt on their own literature, and on the individuals to whose genius the nation are indebted for it. With such feelings, though one may be an excellent man, yet he can be but an indifferent Jew; a very good citizen, yet a very lax member of the synagogue. If therefore we wish to educate our youth as Jewish men and Jewish citizens, we must endeavour to form an Anglo-Jewish literature.

Being of opinion that the lectures here presented to the public belong to that class of literature, the formation of which I advocate, I have willingly complied with the suggestion of friends who considered the publication as likely to prove useful to the community. Should a sufficient amount of encouragement convince me that the public agree with the views here expressed, this biography will be followed by others of a similar character, and for which I have collected the necessary materials.

The delay between the delivery and publication of the Lectures (they were delivered in April last), has been chiefly owing to the circumstance that the proof-sheets have been submitted to the inspection of a learned friend, M. Steinschneider, the Oriental scholar, now at Berlin; and to him I am indebted for many a valuable hint and learned observation. In possession of ample materials myself, and liberally supplied from the rich stores of my erudite friend, it would no doubt have been in my power to render the publication much more attractive to the professed Hebrew scholar. But as those very portions which would have given it particular interest to the scholar, must have rendered it dry to the general reader, I have been induced to omit many a learned remark and some elaborate disquisitions.

Before concluding, I desire to tender my sincere thanks to the highly talented artist, Mrs. Julia Goodman, of Woburn Place, to whose eminent skill I am endebted for the drawing of the likeness (see note 15,) of Maimonides, a lithograph of which is prefixed to the work.

3, New Millman-street, Guildford-street,
On the 15th day of Elul, 5607, (August 27th, 1847.)

LIFE OF RABBI MOSES BEN MAIMON,
COMMONLY CALLED MAIMONIDES.[1]

The battle of Xeres decided for centuries the fate of Spain and fixed that of the Jews. The victorious Arabs brought with the crescent, learning into Spain and liberty to her Israelitish inhabitants. Among the cities occupied by the Mahometans, Cordova, the capital, distinguished itself by its manufactures, population, and especially by its learning. Various libraries were established, and colleges founded in which celebrated scholars taught. It was also there, about 960, that the first Jewish academy in Spain was erected.[2] In the twelfth century this place, for the reasons mentioned, appears still to have occupied the high position to which it had arisen under the glorious reign of the Abderrhamans.

Mahometans and Jews vied with each other in the cultivation of poetry and science. A luxurious climate inviting to enjoyment, a close application to polite letters, and a sincere devotion to the arts of peace, had gradually polished the rude manners of the invaders, softened down their violent tempers, and paved the way to a friendly intercourse with their Jewish subjects.

These favourable circumstances had not failed to produce their effect, and long before the birth of Maimon's son, the names of eminent Jewish scholars adorned the historical records of Arabic Spain and Africa. Made acquainted with Grecian philosophy by means of Arabic translations, and drawn within the circle of the subtle metaphysical speculations which, during the middle

ages occupied the Mahometan not less than the Christian world, the Jews soon began to institute inquiries into matters, in which proofs had previously seemed to be superfluous, and to doubt where child-like faith used humbly and reverentially to acquiesce. Philosophy produced both its salutary and its pernicious effects; and whilst on the one hand, this two-edged sword cut through the roots of bigotry and superstition, it severed on the other the nerves of faith and even rational belief. It was not only the Talmud that was sifted and the value of each component part ascertained; but hypotheses, opposed to the integrity of scripture and orthodoxy, were launched by minds tainted by the impure breath of self-conceited and fallacious philosophy.[3] The reflecting part of the community then followed directions generally pursued by the mind under similar struggles. One part publicly did homage to philosophy, another abjured it entirely on the altar of faith, and a third party endeavoured to find an allegorical or hidden—a spiritual sense in Scripture, in which both systems might meet in friendship, or rather in which both would equally evaporate. A reconciliation of religion with philosophy by means of philosophy had not yet been attempted. How much the observance of the practices of Judaism suffered in this struggle may be inferred from the statement of Bechai, who, in his preface to "Choboth Halbaboth," expressly states that most of his contemporaries slighted the ceremonial laws.

It was at Cordova, and whilst these influences were in full operation, that the man was born whose creative genius was to arrange the chaotic materials of Jewish Theology, scattered through the wide extent of the two Talmuds, and to attempt the reconciliation of religion with philosophy. The exact year of the birth of Maimonides is still the subject of dispute among the learned; none, however, date it before 1131 or after 1139.[4] But this uncertainty, as it does not affect any of those events or circumstances which render Maimonides a fit subject for biography, is of no consequence. He was the son of Maimon the Judge descendant of an illustrious family, members of which had for generations been

vested with the judicial office.[5] Legend, ever so busy in casting a halo round the life of illustrious men, of adorning and stamping it with the impress of the marvellous, has performed this office on Maimonides. His birth, life, and death, are by it equally diversified. Exhorted in a dream to marry, and instructed of the glory awaiting his future progeny, Maimon espoused the woman pointed out to him, a pious maiden, though of obscure birth; but though the father was destined to witness the glory of the son, the mother was not so favoured, for the first day of the child was the last of the mother.

Maimonides, continues the same legend, the offspring of this heaven-commanded union, displayed in his childhood no indication of those superior powers of mind which were to distinguish his after life. Dull of comprehension, inert, and of slothful habits, he showed no inclination for study. This incapability joined to unwillingness cast a still darker shadow upon Maimonides when contrasted with the brightness, progress, and other shining qualities of his brothers, by a second marriage of Maimon. Proportionably to his presumed dullness and obstinacy, he incurred the displeasure, reproaches, and chastisement of his betters, and at last experienced the neglect which his conduct deserved. It was amidst scenes of festivity, rejoicing, and congratulation, which took place in the house of Maimon, on the occasion of a splendid Talmudic dissertation held publicly in the synagogue by a brother of Maimonides, on his thirteenth birth-day—the day of his becoming Bar-Mitzvah[6] —that Maimonides first became alive to his forlorn condition. He compared the disregard experienced by him with the attention shown to his brother—the contempt with which he was treated, with the honour conferred on the other—the incorrigibleness ascribed to him, with the expectations anticipated from his brother; he saw the looks of scorn, of pity, he heard the taunts and sneers directed at him. His dormant sensibility awoke—he could no longer endure the tortures of this comparison—he fled from the hated scene. For years did the unfortunate youth wander far and wide, depending for his subsistence upon the benevolence of his chari-

table co-religionists. He at last came to a place where a large congregation was resident. Staying there during the Sabbath, he went on Friday night to the synagogue, but as the ignorant youth neither could read Hebrew nor was of a devotional turn of mind, the solemn hymns with which the sacred building echoed, lulled him to sleep. The service was over, the congregation departed, and no one noticed the sleeping stranger. The flames of the candles had all expired, and the *ner tamid* only (the continually burning lamp) before the ark, shed a dim and flickering light just vivid enough to show the awakening Maimonides the place in which he was. The feeling of loneliness, the awfulness of the scene, the sacred associations which now arose, struck a terror to his mind which prevented him from sleep or flight. This violent agitation however soon gave way to gentler feelings; memory and imagination so busy in sleepless nights, recalled the scenes of his childhood, those of his past life: he saw the abyss into which he had precipitated himself: a flood of tears at last relieved his oppressed heart: he determined to change—to amend his course of life. Comforted and strengthened by this resolution he approached the ark enclosing the sacred scrolls of the law, and prostrating himself to the ground, fervently prayed for divine assistance. Thus engaged in prayer, in meditation and reflection on the past, and in resolutions for the future, the morning came, when the attendant appeared to prepare for the morning service. To him Maimonides told what had happened during the past night, with the request that he would procure him the means for learning to read Hebrew; with this wish the man complied. The application of Maimonides was intense, his progress unparalelled, and he soon acquired benevolent friends, through whose generosity he could uninterruptedly apply himself to study. In a few years he was numbered among the most distinguished doctors of the law, and so widely had his reputation spread, that he was applied to to preach in the largest communities. But the celebrated rabbi had carefully guarded the secret of his descent. No premature discovery was to lessen the enjoyment of the noble triumph which he meditated. His fame had

also reached his native town ; thither he went to hold a public discourse. Maimon's son shone with all the brilliancy of his acute and profound mind. The auditors were enraptured, especially Maimon, himself a great scholar. This was the moment which Maimonides had chosen for the discovery of his secret. A scene now ensued similar to that which occurred when Jacob found his son Joseph. Enough, however, at present of the legend ; let us return to the real history of Maimonides, which, to be interesting, does not require the charms of fiction.

Offspring of an illustrious and learned family, himself endowed with extraordinary capacities, native of a place which afforded uncommon facilities for study, it is not surprising that Maimonides at an early period showed indications of future eminence. But favoured as was his progress in science by such a concurrence of circumstances, yet was his morning of life not without its clouds. An event took place in the early part of his career which violently shook the happiness of the Jews subject to the western Caliphs, and which must also have disturbed the peace of Maimon's family. This time the persecutors came from the quarter from which formerly deliverers had issued. The north of Africa, that hot bed of fanaticism, had bred another zealot, named Abdallah, called Almohadi, who, favoured by circumstances, through extraordinary talents, boldness, austerity of manners, and the assumption of a prophetic character, raised himself from the low station of a lamplighter's son to the dignity of Prince of the Faithful. Abdelmumen, his disciple and successor, who together with his master's dominions had inherited his success in arms and intolerance in religion, pushed his conquests into Spain and in 1148 conquered Cordova. The same spirit of persecution that under his predecessor had demolished all Synagogues and Churches in Africa, and had left to Jews and Christians no other alternative than apostacy or exile, was now also extended to the new possessions; and so severe was the persecution, that at one time any Jew staying a month longer without embracing Mohametanism was to forfeit his life, and his children were to be reduced to slavery.

Maimonides himself was at that time too young to act independently for himself. He could only follow the views or commands of his father. What the obstacle may have been which prevented Maimon from leaving his native town as soon as he could no more publicly profess his religion, we do not know, nor do we know exactly how long he wore the mask of dissimulation.[7] Severe as was the blow thus inflicted on the happiness of the Jews, it does not appear that it impeded Maimonides' success in acquiring knowledge. Perhaps the very restraint which this misfortune imposed on the practice of Judaism, the caution which it rendered advisable in the study of Hebrew learning, only strengthened his attachment to his religion, and increased his zeal for the study of the literature of his people; for it has been observed by a heavenly inspired sage that "stolen waters are sweet and secret bread pleasant." His father, Isaac Alfasi, and Joseph Megas,[8] likewise a resident of Cordova, (of whose Talmudic learning Maimonides speaks in the highest terms,)[9] may be considered as among his teachers. But if it be true that Alphasi died in 1103, and Megas in 1141[10], the instruction derived from them, must rather have been conveyed through their writings, studied by Maimonides in his after life, than through verbal tuition. The same remark applies also to the Arabs, Ebn Thopail, Ebn Saig, and Ebn Roshd, mentioned by Leo Africanus as the teachers of Maimonides; since the first of these scholars lived long before him, the second died in Africa when Maimonides was still very youthful, and the third was a younger contemporary.[11] Though we cannot ascertain the precise period during which Maimon remained at Cordova after its conquest by Abdelmumen, yet have we reason to believe that he did not stay there long, for as Maimonides began his celebrated Commentary on the Mishna, in his 23rd year, he must previously have devoted years to the study of the Talmud, which he scarcely could have done in the dominions of the fanatic ruler of the faithful. And indeed we find Maimon in the year 1159, staying at Fez,[12] and on the 15th of May, 1165, arriving at Acco (St. Jean d'Acre), where Maimonides considered

himself as beyond the power of the persecutor of his nation. From this place, after a stay of five months, he repaired to Egypt, taking his route, in company with another celebrated Rabbi, R. Jephet ben Elihu, of Acco, through Jerusalem.

We subjoin the account of his journey as given by himself.[13] "On the evening of the first day of the week, the 4th of the month Iyar, I went to sea, and on Sabbath the 10th of Iyar, of the year 25, (1165) we had a dreadful storm; the sea was in uproar, and we were in danger of perishing. Then I vowed to keep these two days as complete fast days for myself, my household, and all those in connection with me, and to command my children to do the same throughout all their generations; they shall also give charity according to their ability. For myself I further vowed to remain apart from human intercourse on every 10th of Iyar, to speak to nobody, and only to pray and to study; and as on that day I saw no one on the sea except the Holy One, praised be his name, so will I (cases of compulsion excepted) see no one and stay with no one.

"On the evening of the first day of the week, the 3rd, of Sivan I landed safely and came to Acco (St. Jean d'Acre), and by arriving in the land of Israel escaped persecution. This day I vowed to keep as a day of rejoicing, festivity, and distribution of charity, for myself and my house throughout all generations. On the third day of the week the 4th of Marcheshvan, 26, (in the autumn of 1165), I left Acco in order to go to Jerusalem; this journey was attended with many dangers.[14] I entered the great and the holy place, and prayed there on the 6th of the same month. On the first day of the following week, being the 9th, I left Jerusalem and went to Hebron, in order to kiss the graves of the patriarchs in the cave. On that day I stood in the cave and prayed; thanks be to the Father of all for every thing. The two days, the 6th and 9th of Marcheshvan I destined by a vow for festivals devoted to solemn prayer and the pleasures of the table. May God give me strength and assist me to fulfil my vows; and may I and all Israel soon be permitted to see

the land in its glory, even as I prayed there in its state of desolation! Amen." In Egypt, in his thirtieth year, he finished the commentary abovementioned. After a short stay at Alexandria, he finally, prior to the summer of 1167, settled at Fostat, or as it is commonly called Old Cairo, where many co-religionists resided. Here he resorted to the trade of a diamond merchant, an occupation which he had perhaps carried on before.[15] But from his obscurity his talents soon shone forth as stars in the night. He began to deliver philosophical lectures and to practice medicine, to the study of which he had applied himself with great success. Hitherto fortune had frowned rather than smiled upon Maimonides. Nearly half his life had passed under a constraint most painful to strong religious feelings, or in the hardships of wanderings probably undertaken in order to escape this mental torture. But now a new and bright period began, and a fortunate concurrence of circumstances compensated in the latter half of his life for the tribulations he had undergone in the former. A revolution of a similar character to that which had darkened his early years, and apparently blasted all his prospects, now cleared up his horizon and opened before him a most honourable and shining career. Of the authors of this revolution which, while it changed the face of the then deeply-agitated East, affected also the fate of Maimonides, we must say a few words.

Europe and Asia were at that time engaged in the protracted and sanguinary struggle for the possession of the holy city, and the enthusiasm of the crusaders still maintained their precarious dominions in Palestine, against the impetuous valour of the Mahometans. The two standards round which the followers of the crescent rallied, were erected in Egypt and Syria. The former country was ruled by Aadhad, of the dynasty of the Alides or Fatimites; the latter by Nureddin, the sultan of Aleppo. Of these two Nureddin was the more powerful; to him the Fatimite Caliph applied for assistance, when tired of the incessant encroachments of his vizier Shawer, and pressed by the victorious Christians of Palestine. Nureddin despatched a large army to Egypt, under the

command of his two distinguished generals, the Coords Shirakoh and his nephew Salah-ed-deen, or as he is called among Christian writers, Saladin. They undertook, with unequal success, though with equal valour, various expeditions to Egypt, and though the unfortunate Caliph soon discovered the secret designs of the treacherous auxiliary, and therefore found it more advantageous to make an agreement with the Franks, yet was he at last compelled to admit as his vizier, the uncle, who now in reality governed the kingdom as viceroy for Nureddin. Shirakoh died the same year and bequeathed his authority to his nephew. At the command of the Sultan of Aleppo, Saladin now formally deposed the last of the Fatimites, the Caliph Aded Ledinillah; and this monarch opportunely dying eleven days after this important revolution was effected, Saladin became virtually sovereign of Egypt.[16] This truly great monarch, equal in prowess to his renowned contemporary and opponent, Richard Cœur de Lion, and by far excelling him in every other virtue, had a friend worthy of his character, the Cadi of Cairo, and his Vizier Alfadhl Abd-el-Rahim ben Ali Albaisani. This distinguished patron of science and founder of a college at Cairo, who could write one letter whilst dictating two others,[17] could not but appreciate the profound genius of Maimonides, could not but admire his talents, respect his character, and love his person. Alfadhl, overwhelmed his friend with benefits, and even granted him a pension.[18] It was also through his patron that Maimonides became acquainted with Saladin, whose physician he was appointed in 1179. About the same time, or perhaps before, another mark of distinction had been shown to Maimonides. He received a call to attend, as physician, the king of the Franks, who had been taken ill at Ascalon;[19] an honour, however, he thought proper to decline. This incident would scarcely deserve notice, especially as it exercised no influence upon his life, were it not for the legitimate inference which it justifies as to the extraordinary degree of reputation which he must have enjoyed in his medical capacity. A king of Christians inhabiting a land which, accord-

ing to the notions of the age they must have considered defiled by the footsteps of a Jew,—a king over a band of adventurers that had proved the most sanguinary persecutors of Israel,—a monarch who could boast of ruling over a land but two generations back cleared by the sword of the noisome weeds of Judaism—such a monarch must have had powerful inducements to call an individual of this hated race into the country, into the royal presence, nay, to entrust him with the royal life.[20] On the other hand, what a triumph for Maimonides to be courted by two hostile monarchs occupying most prominent positions upon the stage of the world. But of the opinion entertained by his contemporaries of his medical skill, we possess direct proofs. There are still extant some verses composed by the Cadi Alsaid ben Sena Almulk in honour of Maimonides, which run thus :—"The medicine of Galen is only for the body, but that of Abu Amran (Maimonides) is both for the body and the mind.

"If he has made himself through his knowledge the physician of his century, he also cures the age through his wisdom from the disease of ignorance.

"Had the moon herself taken refuge in his art, she certainly would have attained the perfection she wants.

"And when the moon is full he could cure her from the spots which disfigure her, and from the illness of conjunction." (See Ebn Osaibi's Notice on M., chap xiv.)

Since his arrival in Egypt, Maimonides had married[21] and was blessed with one son, Abraham, who inherited many of the talents of his father, and a daughter who, however, died young. Happy in the circle of his family, in possession of a large share of worldly goods, respected by every one that knew him, admired and beloved by a numerous circle of friends and disciples, and nearly idolized by a great portion of his co-religionists, Maimonides seemed now to have attained the zenith of his glory. Indeed, so far had his fame spread that the desire of seeing him, is mentioned by an Arabian scholar as one of the motives for his repairing from a distant country to Egypt.[22] His co-religionists of Cairo, Damascus and other eastern

cities, had indeed reason to offer up public prayers for his long life. But great as were the honours conferred on him, they were not beyond his merit. His time was devoted to the noble task of benefitting either the mind by his writings or the body by his medical exertions. His unremitting activity was displayed by the sick bed, in the professor's chair, in the closet by the composition of his works, and at his desk in answering the learned questions of his distant disciples and knowledge-seeking contemporaries. A remarkable document, in reply to a letter of Rabbi Samuel Ebn Tibbon, of Marseilles, the well-known Hebrew translator of the Moreh Nebuchim, who wished personally to consult Maimonides on certain difficult passages of that work, has been preserved to our day. From this we learn the laborious life led by Maimonides in his prosperity. The following is a translation of this document:—"As for thy wish to come to see me, thy visit will certainly gratify me very much, although I shall have no leisure for scientific conversations, for I have very little time, as thou wilt hear. I live in Mizr (Fostat), and the king in Cairo, and I am obliged early every morning, to repair to the royal court. My visits to the members of the royal family last though nobody be ill, till the afternoon. But if any body is ill, I do not leave at all. If they are well, I return in the afternoon fatigued and faint, when I find all the galleries filled by a multitude of patients of all classes, both Jews and Gentiles, distinguished and common people, friends and enemies, who wait for my return.

"I dismount from my horse, wash my hands, and go out to them requesting them to allow me a few minutes to take some nourishment. The patients are then admitted, and the enquiry into their complaints with the prescription of remedies extends two hours and even longer into the night, when I grow so weak that I must lie down. The consequence of all this is that no Israelite can have an interview with me except on Sabbath: then come the whole congregation to whom I give instruction as to what they shall do during the week." Previous to these lines,

complaining of his want of time and habitual weakness, he says: "And the creator of the world knows in what manner I have written thee this epistle. I retire from men, withdrawing to a solitary place in order not to be interrupted; sometimes I lean against the wall and write, and sometimes I lie down on account of bodily weakness, for to my habitual debility old age has now been superadded."

And yet amidst all these fatigues and interruptions, Maimonides found leisure to compose, not only most of those lighter productions called forth by various occasions, but also to write those two excellent works, each admirable in its kind, which have at all times been thought worthy of the attention and even serious study of the general scholar, and which have fixed a new era in the science of Judaism. The Mishna Torah, (repetition of the Law) according to the researches of Mons. Munk, was completed[23] in 1180, and the Moreh Nebuchim (the Guide of the Perplexed) before 1190. The former, written in pure and fluent Hebrew, is a methodically arranged digest of the work known by the name of the Talmud —the latter (composed in his native tongue, Arabic,)[24] a theological philosophical work, is a profoundly conceived and skilfully accomplished attempt at illumining the obscurities of theology with the lamp of philosophy, and at defining the boundaries of philosophy, by pointing out the land-marks of faith; in other words, it is an attempt at harmonising religion as revealed on Sinai, with the views propounded by philosophy. Whilst the former of these works will at all times remain indispensable to all who make the knowledge of the Jewish law their study, will be attentively read by such as wish to become acquainted with the final results of talmudical dissertations, without possessing the preparatory knowledge, leisure, or patience necessary for pursuing the winding paths of talmudical intricacies; whilst it will be consulted with advantage by such as wish for information on any point connected with Jewish antiquities, practices, or customs,—the latter work will be perused with intense interest by theologians of all denominations engaged in congenial enqui-

ries, and will be attentively studied by the historian of the development, wanderings, and progress of the human mind.

Legendary tradition which we have seen so busy in depicting the early part of Maimonides's life has displayed not less activity in diversifying the latter portion. Let us select one tale which like a well contrived fiction, has at least the merit of representing Maimonides and his august patron Saladin in their true light, and which, if not true, might at least have been true. His introduction to the king is thus described. It was at that time customary on certain days for the monarch, sitting on a throne with seven steps, to examine the candidates for public offices. The branches of knowledge in which the examination was to be passed, were formed by the so called seven liberal arts, viz:—Grammar, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, Astronomy, Dialectics, and Rhetoric. According to the degree of proficiency exhibited, the candidates were placed on the steps of the throne; so that those who had successfully passed an examination in all the seven arts, sat on the seventh step immediately by the side of the monarch. Maimonides was one of the candidates, and although his talents had won for him the favour of immediate proximity to his sovereign, yet did his modesty decline the distinction. This feature of humility won for him the regard, as his learning had already obtained the admiration, of the King.

The latter end his life is thus described by the same legend The extraordinary degree of royal favour enjcyed by him, at last excited the jealousy of his colleagues, the other court physicians. They determined on his ruin. Ere long they found an opportunity for carrying out their malicious design, by secretly mixing with poison a draught prepared by Maimonides for the monarch, and then accusing him of the intention to destroy the king. In vain did Maimonides affirm his innocence; his guilt was clear in the eyes of his judges, for a dog to which, at the suggestion of the accusers, a few drops of the unfortunate draught were administered, died on the spot. Nor was Saladin himself, though convinced of the innocence of his favourite, able to save him, so clamourously did the united voices of the con-

spirators and their dupes demand the blood of the traitor. The only mercy which the king could show him, was to leave to his option the manner of his death. This favour, however, eventually proved the means of saving his life; for, aware of the imperfect anatomical knowledge of his enemies, he desired to be put to death by having his veins opened. He foresaw that the physicians being unacquainted with the existence of a certain vein, which, if not opened, though all others be emptied of their fluid, still contains a quantity of blood, sufficient for preserving life—would consider his apparent death as real, and that thus, when delivered as a corpse to his disciples, an opportunity would be afforded, by proper treatment, to restore him to life. Having initiated these into the secret, and given them the necessary instructions, Maimonides underwent the operation, as his enemies thought, of being bled to death. Having recovered, in order to escape further persecutions he withdrew secretly to Palestine, and there, concealed in a cavern, composed, during the twelve years of his seclusion, the above mentioned work, "Repetition of the Law." So far fabulous history.

Enjoying a firmly established reputation, placed in most favourable circumstances, and engaged in the discharge of duties, so congenial to a benevolent heart and powerful mind, one might have expected that Maimonides would have spent his latter years in happiness; yet was his life not exempt from the miseries of the common lot of man, nor from those petty annoyances attendant upon merit, as shadow upon substance. Habitual debility and serious illness but too frequently interrupted the activity of a mind for which no task was too arduous.[25] An uncommon zeal for the promotion of Rabbinical doctrines, and a most vigorous, if not violent, opposition to Caraism, then deeply rooted in Egypt, had no doubt excited numerous and powerful enemies.[26]

Death robbed him of his much beloved daughter, and though he deeply felt this loss as a man, yet as a philosopher he combatted his grief, and, as a sincere Israelite, he consoled himself with the assurance of not having lost her for ever.

This mixture of sentiments is admirably expressed in a letter written about that time, to his now only child, Abraham, then staying in Spain. Keener, however, seems to have been his grief at the death of a favourite disciple, who perished in the Indian ocean. An interval of eight years was not sufficient to heal the wound which this bereavement had inflicted on his highly sensitive mind.

To these circumstances he seems to allude, in a letter to his son (the first in the collection known by the name Egaroth Harambam). "However, my son, I have applied myself so seriously to study and writing, that I am ill, for the yoke of royalty and that of my own house is imposed upon me, and my enemies are alive and powerful, and those that hate me for nothing are numerous. But as if this had not been sufficient, the daughters have added sorrow to my sorrow."

In the year 1192, his benefactor Saladin died. The dissensions which arose after his death and strongly agitated Egypt, could not but seriously affect the tranquility of Maimonides, although he continued in his office under the successor of Saladin. About the same time, indications of the thunderstorm conjured up by the liberal opinions of Maimonides, as laid down in his Moreh and Sepher Hamadang, (the first book of his Repetition of the Law) began to show themselves. The former work, which, at an early period after its publication, had been translated from its original Arabic into Hebrew, and thus rendered accessible to the French Jews, startled them with a new mode of interpretation, and a novelty of opinion, which, as is generally the case with bigots were equivalent to heresy. Exposed to the oppressions of an arbitrary government and to the vexations of a fanatic populace; degraded by laws which, in the Israelite, trampled under foot the dignity of man, and therefore not participating in the advantages of the liberal education and enlarged views enjoyed by their Spanish brethren,—the French Jews perceived in the Talmud the only object worthy of study, and considered every other pursuit of learning, as dangerous, or, at least, as superfluous. Great,

therefore, was their consternation, when they found, set forth with an authority as weighty as that of Maimonides, the doctrine that Talmud and theology were not identical, that the understanding of the latter required a degree of preparatory knowledge embracing all branches of science then cultivated; when they saw denounced that servility of spirit which never sees with its own eyes—which removes every difficulty with "ipse dixit"—and intimidates every inquirer with the terror of the name of 'Apicores' (Freethinker); when they saw discussions and researches sanctioned, which they thought must rob their objects of the misty covering of sanctity, and the precious rust of antiquity under which they had lain concealed for ages. They at first vented their indignation in low murmurings; the thunders of excommunication were afterwards hurled. It was these hollow murmurings which reached Maimonides' ears; and though he entertained a supreme contempt for these bigots, yet it cannot be doubted that these misconstructions of his hallowed endeavours grieved him deeply. Writing to his son, then staying in Spain, he expresses himself on the French Rabbis thus:—"Beware, my son, of most of the writings of the people of France, who, after having made a good repast, when its fumes ascend to their brain, think they can comprehend God at any period, and that he hears their prayers when they read the Talmud and other similar writings, or the works of the heads of the academies, or when the name of God constantly on their tongue, is coupled with such ideas as represent God as a corporeal being." (Egarot Harambam, Letter I.)

To his favorite disciple, Joseph ben Yehudah, of Aleppo—for whom he composed the Moreh—he writes of his detractors thus: —"I have been much humbled by years and sorrows. I moreover pardon those who offend my honour and heap insults upon me." Further on he says:—"And if some one has been induced to say that I am without religion and good actions, he may say so; and all this, my son, as the Lord lives, shall not hurt or provoke me, even should I have heard it with my own ears, or seen it with my

own eyes. I would not have cared for it, but, on the contrary, I should have humbled myself, and have answered in gentle terms, or been silent, or answered softly and modestly, according to circumstances."

Another source of annoyance must have been the accusation, preferred against him by a Mahometan fanatic from Spain, of his having apostatized from the Islam, to which, as stated, his family had been outwardly compelled to conform whilst staying in Spain.[27] Of this charge of relapse, however, he was acquitted, as it was declared that a compulsory conversion was not binding upon the proselyte.

Maimonides had now attained his seventieth year,* and the time had come when he was to complete his earthly pilgrimage. The news of his death soon spread from congregation to congregation; wailings and lamentations resounded on all sides, and public fasts and mourning were ordered everywhere. His body, agreeably to his wish, was carried to the Holy Land, and buried either at Tiberias or Hebron.[28]

In delineating his character, we have the singular advantage of being able to compare various incidents of his life recorded by himself in his numerous works, with the descriptions given of him by Arabic writers, and further, of collating these with the opinions expressed on him by his Jewish admirers and detractors; we must however be cautious in the use to be made of materials, drawn from the stores of Mahometan authors. These, acquainted only with the general position held by Maimonides as a scholar, could but imperfectly know the rank which he occupied within the synagogue and amongst his nation, to which he devoted the greatest part of his energies and leisure hours; they could but imperfectly appreciate the unfading laurels which he had gathered in these fields. What must render us still more guarded in the use of the materials derived from these sources, is the fact, that in the accounts of some particulars of his life, the contrary f sever al

* More exactly, he lived sixty-nine years, nine months and twelve days.

of their assertions is sufficiently established. Thus Abulfaradge (Hist. Dynast. p. 454), and Alkifti relate. (S. Casiris Bibliotheca Arabica—Hispanola, T. I. p. 294) that Maimonides never ventured to practise medicine. The Jewish writers, though better acquainted with the particulars of his life, and better prepared to appreciate them, were yet too deeply affected by the agitations which this master mind produced to be sufficiently unbiassed for forming a correct estimate. Yet after all possible allowances to party resentment, all necessary deductions from party eulogiums, after taking into consideration all the sins of omission and commission by Arabic writers, not sufficiently acquainted with Maimonides' sphere of activity, there still remain data enough to enable us to sketch the following picture :—

In the domestic circle, Maimonides' character appears to have been unexceptionable. He felt a singular attachment for his friends, especially his disciples ; his affectionate heart was most painfully affected at their bereavements.[29] Particulars of his wife are not known to us; his children he loved with true parental affection.[30] The grief he felt at the loss of his daughter, and the affectionate letters he wrote to his son sufficiently prove this. Except on Sabbath, he had little leisure to concern himself about his domestic affairs. Though of a social disposition and averse to ascetic views, yet his numerous and important occupations did not allow him to indulge in the innocent pleasures of society.[31] The only leisure day on which he could freely be seen and spoken to was the Sabbath. His time, as mentioned above, was divided between attendance on patients, instructions to pupils from the cathedra, his study, his writing desk, and the conduct of the affairs of his nation. Nothing authentic has been recorded as to his exterior or physical constitution.[32] When however we perceive his complaints of frequent exhaustion and habitual weakness, we are led to conclude that his body was less strong than his mind.

Among the qualities which form his moral character, there is one which shines forth most conspicuously, reflecting its gentle

light even over such as constitute its duller parts. Moses the son of Maimon loved all men without religious distinction; his heaven was open to superior merit and knowledge whatever its creed. Moses the son of Maimon was in his heart a philanthropist, and practised the principles of philanthropy. This is evidenced not only by his life, but also by numerous precepts laid down in his writings.[33] These enlarged and benevolent views will appear to still greater advantage, if compared with such as were then generally held even by those who, from their position or opportunities may be supposed to have ranked above the mass of their contemporaries. Christianity, which even now, in a more enlightened age, claims too frequently the exclusive right of granting passports to heaven, then urged still more obstinately its pretended claim; nay, considered itself justified in the employment of the most cruel means for obtruding this passport. It may be assumed without much fear of contradiction that in the time of King Richard Cœur de Lion (Maimonides, it will be remembered was a contemporary of his), no Christian of equal authority with this Jew ever promulgated opinions like those which he put forth; nor need we be afraid of contrasting these opinions with any publicly professed by Mahometan divines, his contemporaries. But this moral excellency was not without its darker tints. He possessed too lively a consciousness of his own superiority.[34] Unique among the Jews of his age, he was somewhat impatient of contradiction, and not sufficiently indulgent towards those, who either from neglect of education or natural dullness of mind, were not prepared to appreciate his opinions. He was too often disposed to confound these persons with such as from envy, interest, malignity, or bigotry, opposed his views. He further underrated the worth of moral qualities, attaching too high a value to those of the intellect.[35] He overlooked that, constituted as society is, more salutary effects have been produced by the qualities of the heart than by those of the head. He forgot that mere intellect without moral worth is a curse, not a blessing to mankind;—that whilst the for-

mer only is ascribed to a demon, both united constitute the angel. He nevertheless bore individual abuse and personalities with exemplary equanimity, and though they no doubt deeply wounded his sensitive mind, he did not condescend to retort. In a letter to his disciple, Joseph of Aleppo, wherein he complains of a certain troublesome correspondent, he says, "Know that I am firmly determined to remain as equable as possible. * * * * He that wishes to raise himself by exposing my faults may be sure of my pardon, though he be the meanest disciple."—(S. Annalen, for 1840, N. 27.)

The fundamental doctrine upon which he raised his ethical structure, was that in everything we should hold the happy medium. Far removed from ascetic views, and from the recommendation of a barren austerity then prevailing among Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, he advocated a moderate enjoyment of the boons with which the benevolent Creator has blessed the world. A reputation for sanctity, acquired by an unmeritorious abstemiousness, was not acknowledged by Maimonides, and he could not consider *him* a conqueror who dastardly retired from the field of activity before the engagement in which it was his duty to be a principal agent, had even commenced.[36] Being further, of unfeigned piety—hypocrisy, superstition, and bigotry were alike hateful to him, and his religion being without the alloy of fanaticism, blind zeal in its cause was not the means of obtaining his favor.

In his religious opinions he was a strict Rabbinist, and a powerful and successful opponent to the Karaite doctrines then very prevalent in Egypt. He was convinced that Judaism, torn away from its native and congenial soil, and transplanted or rather thrown into a foreign and unpropitious climate, necessarily required the discerning, cherishing, and nursing hand of tradition. Maimonides employed every means at his disposal to procure a firm footing for the Rabbinical doctrines.[37]

His intellect was at once capacious, vigorous, and tenacious, equally fit to penetrate into the sublime truths revealed through ma-

thematics, to dive into the depths of metaphysical speculations, to pursue the subtleties of theological enquiries, or to prosecute the dry study of languages. His fine mind thus exhibited a combination of powers which are thought by many as incompatible with, nay, subversive of each other. That he was a celebrated physician has been stated. He must therefore have been acquainted with those branches of knowledge then constituting the art of healing. Besides the discoveries in geometry, ascribed to him,[38] his Kedush Hachodesh is an imperishable testimony of his proficiency in astronomy. His Morch Nebuchim and Shmoneh Perakim prove his profound knowledge of philosophy. In this science he followed the system of the subtle Aristotle, but he not unfrequently used the pointed weapons (the handling of which his master taught him) to combat opinions incompatible with revealed religion. Though he was no blind follower of the Stagyrite Sage, yet some contended, and not with injustice, that carried away by his love of system, he went too far in his attempts at reconciling with the doctrines of Moses, some philosophical views from their very nature repugnant to Judaism. This will abundantly appear from the following passage to be found in his Commentary on the Mishnah at the end of Berachoth. After speaking rather disparagingly of the endeavours of Jewish scholars to explain God's wisdom and justice, he continues: "But what philosophers teach on the subject—I mean genuine philosophers, is very sublime and profound, and requires much prefatory knowledge and scientific attainments. An expert thinker takes these doctrines to heart, and brings them into close connection with the words of Scripture 'Behold I lay to day before you the life and the good,' &c. He evolves from them contents similar to those just exhibited by me if not still better and more clearly. I shall in the treatise of Aboth (Ethics of the Fathers) revert once more to the subject, and succinctly demonstrate a portion of the agreement of the most excellent philosophers with Scripture."

He is also said to have understood Chaldaic, Turkish, and Me-

dish (Shalsheleth, p. 44, A. Wolfius, in loco Note, b.). How thoroughly he mastered Arabic and Hebrew, is evidenced by the works which he wrote in those languages.[39]

Though necessarily engaged in occupations of the most serious character, yet did he occasionally descend to the composition of those ingenious trifles which sometimes serve as a relaxation to a superior mind. Some spirited epigrams, scraps of poetry, and rhymed epistles, written after the fashion of the time and ascribed to him, have been preserved to our age.[40] That however, which formed the most conspicuous—the leading feature of his mind, impressing the indelible stamp of superior genius on all its productions, was his love of method.

Clearly as his mind saw its objects, powerfully as it grasped them, so did he wish to present them to the beholder. He proceeded towards his object on the shortest and easiest road; he wished to offer the lovely fruit to others without exposing them to the inconvenience of being pricked by the surrounding thorns. In his endeavours to methodise the doctrines to be taught, Maimonides was singularly assisted by an uncommon memory, which extended over even the most insignificant particulars; by an intuitive glance, which discerned at once between what was essential and what was immaterial, and by a clear judgment, which quickly formed the objects into homogeneous groups. It is to this love of method that we owe those extraordinary productions reducing the practical part of Jewish theology into the shape of a science; viz., the Commentary on the Mishna, and the Mishna Torah.

We will now delineate the nature of the movement which, as before mentioned, his Moreh Nebuchim caused after his death, and we will then describe the effects which this work produced in Israel. In a past lecture we endeavoured to characterise the Moreh Nebuchim and the views prevailing among the French Jews; we also stated the manner in which these people became acquainted with the production. We shall now subjoin some extracts containing Maimonides' opinion on certain subjects, which will explain

better than the clearest exposition could do, the cause of the hostility of many Rabbis to the work.

Before the time of Maimonides, it was considered by nearly all Jewish divines as unlawful, or at least as not desirable, to enquire into the reasons of the ceremonial laws. At all events such enquiries had never before been sanctioned by any eminent authority, had never been systematically pursued, and had been considered rather ingenious speculations befitting the aerial regions of Hagada, than solid arguments deserving a place in authoritative works. "It is a decree of the King and it is not for us to search for its reason," was the answer generally given to the enquirer. Maimonides thought quite differently on this subject, as stated by himself in the third part (chap. xxxi.) of the Moreh, where he says "There are people who object to the assigning of a reason for any law whatever, and according to them it is best not to institute any inquiry into the cause of any law or warning. This objection proceeds from unsound minds which possess no clear consciousness of the motives for this objection. They imagine that if these laws have a useful discernible object which induced God to command them, then they resemble such as are given by human beings and might have been given by them. But if no object can be discovered and no advantage assigned, then are they doubtless from God, for a human mind would not have fallen upon such things. These weak minded reasoners imagine man more perfect than their creator, inasmuch as they think that man would command nothing without purpose, while God would command that which is useless, and caution against things the practice of which is harmless. Away with such an idea. Precisely the reverse is the case, and the object of all laws was to procure some advantage, as we have explained the text, 'to do us good all the days, to keep us alive to this day.' Scripture further says 'that they (the nations of the earth) may hear all these statutes and say, a wise and understanding nation is this great people.' Scripture thus says that even the statutes will teach the nations that they are founded on wisdom and knowledge; and if the laws

have no motive, if they serve no object, bring no advantage, and avert no mischief, why should the believers or practisers be considered as a great and wise nation? But the matter is undoubtedly as we have stated, viz., the object of every one of the 613 precepts is either to convey some correct notion, to remove some erroneous opinion, to accustom to some good order, to prevent iniquity, to inculcate good habits, or to caution against bad habits; and they may be reduced under three heads, intellectual, moral, and social qualities. Every law therefore tends either to promote social virtues or to diffuse true knowledge or morality."

On the temple and the sacrifices he gives an opinion still more calculated to startle his orthodox brethren. Having laid down the principle that as little as God allows nature to take sudden leaps in the physical world, but has ordained a gradual developement by means of which every act is preparatory for the next, so little does God ordain sudden transitions in the moral world; having exemplified this by instances from the physical world, he continues thus (*ibid* 32) "a similar line of conduct did God pursue in many commandments of the law; for sudden transitions from extreme to extreme are impossible. Accordingly it is impossible for man to leave at once all the things to which he has been accustomed. . . . . At that time, the universal custom and mode of worship in which people were brought up was to bring sacrifices into the temples, there to place idols, to worship them, and to burn incense before them. . . . . Now the divine wisdom, manifest in all creation, did not abolish and command us to lay aside these modes of worship, for this would have been repugnant to human nature, which always follows habit; this would have been as if some prophet were to come in our days, who with respect to divine service were to announce that God commanded that we should not pray to him, not fast, and not seek his help in time of trouble, but that we should let our service be one of the heart, without outward practice. For this reason these kinds of worship were to continue; God only

transferred them from imaginary or created beings to himself, and commanded us to preserve them, to erect a sanctuary, to build an altar, and to offer sacrifices to Him . . . and by His divine will was idolatry abolished, and the great principle of the existence and unity of God established among our nation; and thus those persons who would have been startled by the abolition of the mode of worship to which they were used, and who were not acquainted with any other, were not refractory."

Had the adverse party at that time founded their opposition solely upon these and similar passages, it cannot be denied that their animadversions would have been well grounded, and they would no doubt have excited much greater and more lasting sympathy. But regard for historical truth denies us such a desirable vindication of a body of Rabbis, from some of whom we cannot withhold the acknowledgment due to sincerity, piety, and learning. A regard for historical truth draws from us the reluctant and humiliating confession that it was not passages like those quoted—perhaps incompatible with a perfect, unaltered and unalterable religion—but precisely those statements perfectly founded on Scripture, and purifying Judaism from the dross of Heathenism, which drew upon Maimonides the denunciations of his principal opponents. The Moreh Nebuchim and the book of Knowledge, (the first part of Mishna Torah) were loudly condemned because of the distinct line of demarcation which they drew between the spiritual and physical world. In the gross minds of the French Rabbis, matter and spirit were confounded. The former was sometimes elevated through its vicinity to the latter, but more frequently was the latter defiled through impure contact with the former. The French Rabbis might admit that the substance of God differed from that of our own, yet would they not consider a contrary opinion as heretical, yet would they scarcely be convinced that those talmudical passages representing, according to Eastern fashion, the heavenly pleasures of departed spirits under the grosser types of sensual enjoyments, were to be understood figuratively. They considered as sacrilegious the daring pen of Maimonides, which with one stroke

robbed them of their duly carved portion in the heavenly banquet prepared for the righteous.

The tocsin of alarm was first sounded at Montpellier by Rabbi Shelomoh, son of Rabbi Abraham, a distinguished Talmudic scholar. This seaport town, which at that time carried on a lucrative trade, was the seat of a numerous, wealthy, charitable, and learned congregation. Though at that time again united with France, yet the beneficial influence exercised upon the minds of its Jewish inhabitants during its long annexation to the Arabic-Spanish provinces of Catalonia and Arragon, had not ceased to operate. Not pervaded by the enlightened spirit of the more southern provinces, the Jewish mass in Provence was just sufficiently far advanced to understand the representations of their leaders, without however being capable of examining them. Montpellier [41] was therefore a fit place for the centre of such an agitation, and Rabbi Shelomoh acquainted with the Talmud only, and not with the preparatory knowledge necessary for its liberal interpretation, was just the fit man for originating such a movement. In his endeavours he was zealously assisted by his two disciples Rabbi Jonah (according to Rapaport in Kerem Chemed VI, 2, a relation of Nachmanides), subsequently known as the teacher of Rabbi Shelomo Ben Adereth, and by Rabbi David son of Rabbi Shaul. They displayed an uncommon activity in denouncing the two mentioned books, and in anathematising such as would read them. They were soon joined by two other distinguished scholars, Rabbi Meir, the Levite, and Rabbi Yehudah, the physician, son of the Prince Rabbi Joseph, the physician, son of Alfakhkhar,[42] of Toledo. On the other hand many of the congregations of Arragon, Navarre, and Catalonia, took the part of Maimonides, and excommunicated his revilers. A very lively controversy was thus carried on, and gradually such communities as lived at a greater distance from the centre were also drawn into the movement. But the more widely the dispute spread from its original seat, the more numerous became the party of Maimonides. To the honour of the age, be it said, intelligence

and rank sided with him. Irritated by the presumption of a knot of individuals who dared to revile one of the most distinguished men among Israel, and violently to disturb the peace of the nation, many of the Spanish Rabbis, of the party of Maimonides, met with the view of concerting measures for settling the dispute. They resolved to send a deputy to the influential Alfakhkhar, at Toledo, in order to draw him away from the opposition. The celebrated grammarian, Rabbi David Kimchi, of Narbonne, an ardent admirer of Maimonides, voluntarily offered to take this mission upon himself, although already advanced in years. Furnished with the necessary documents, this venerable man set out on his journey. He was, detained at Avila for a considerable time by an obstinate fever and the infirmities of old age; yet these neither chilled his ardour nor abated his activity. He sent epistles to various congregations of Castile, and deputed his companion and nephew, Rabbi Joseph, to repair with a letter to Alfakhkhar. The letter containing some expressions displeasing to this proud and influential man, the mission at that time failed of success. Alfakhkhar replied in a bitter tone, and in one of his letters he went even so far as to compare such as permit their children to study the writings of Maimonides, to parents who sacrifice their offspring to Moloch. Meanwhile Rabbi Shelomoh had not remained inactive. Finding that the south was not favorable to his anathema, he sent his pupil Rabbi Jonah to the north to gain new accessions among the more benighted French congregations, in order to compensate the losses which he had sustained in the enlightened south. This step was at first successful, and new anathemas were hurled against the Moreh Nebuchim; but the deluded Rabbis soon recognised their error, and the congregations of Lunel and Narbonne excommunicated the abettor, Rabbi Shelomoh, together with his followers. As usual in controversy, the disputants grew warm, opposition to views turned into hatred against the propounders, zeal was converted into fanaticism. As usual with bigots who consider themselves the special champions of the Deity, permitted in so hallowed a cause to use any method for the attainment of their

object, Rabbi Shelomoh had now recourse to means which would have been sufficient to frustrate all his designs with his co-religionists, had his object been the most praiseworthy. Rabbi Shelomoh seeing the shaft of excommunication recoiling on himself, denounced the books in question as heretical, and containing opinions adverse also to Christianity. With an ignorant clergy, probably unable to read the denounced works, any information lodged by a famous Rabbi was sufficient to elicit their condemnation; and the community of Montpellier had the mortification to see copies of the works of the immortal scholar publicly burnt, and to find themselves involved in difficulties very seriously threatening their safety. This step of Rabbi Shelomoh, more than any other event, contributed to produce a change in the minds of the Jews, and to secure the triumph of the party of Maimonides. The re-action thus produced was proportionate to the contempt and hatred with which informers have been looked upon at all times and amongst all nations: it was commensurate with the deep aversion and perfect horror with which communities, forming an *ecclesia pressa*, regard that class of people, who, before they are hardened enough for inflicting the deep and piercing wounds of calumny on their former friends and associates, must have extinguished in their breast every spark of better feeling, and must violently and sacrilegiously have severed the sacred ties which draw brother to brother. Alfakhkhar, the staunchest supporter of Rabbi Shelomoh was now staggered, and those who had formerly been either neutral or friendly disposed towards his views, now openly joined the opposite party. Among the latter was also the famous Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman. The Rabbis of Saragossa now issued a synodal epistle, a kind of apology in defence of the writings impugned, and of the calumniated character of Maimonides, whose learning and piety they extolled. This epistle was accompanied by a private letter of a similar tenor written by Rabbi Bechay, chief of the college. The documents were circulated among the congregations of Arragon, and produced the desired effect. The informers, now without any Jewish support, were also abandoned by their Christian party, and a cruel mutilation, inflicted on the slandering organ at the command of those

who had ordered the burning of the books, was to expiate the crime of calumny.[43]

For the time the dispute was settled; yet the flame of discord was not entirely extinguished. Seventy years after, it again broke forth at Montpellier, when Rabbi Abo More, son of Rabbi Moses, author of the book Minchath Kenaoth, sent circulars to many congregations, especially to Rabbi Shelomoh ben Adereth, for obtaining their concurrence in the prohibition of the study of philosophy. His endeavours were successful, and the application to the study of philosophy was interdicted for the next fifty years to persons under twenty-five.

But though this most remarkable controversy was ended, yet the agitation it caused had not ceased, and though the formal opposition made to the work had been withdrawn, yet suspicion of the orthodoxy of the diligent student of the Moreh Nebuchim never entirely died away; and whilst the Mishnah Torah became a principal object among the branches studied by Rabbis and other Talmudic scholars, the Moreh Nebuchim was comparatively neglected and engaged the attention only of individual eminent literati. Nevertheless the services rendered by this work to Jewish science were of the utmost importance. It operated as a ferment upon the torpid mass of the Jews, who, actuated by principles similar to those which prostrated the liberty of Christendom as an abject captive before the Holy see,—were ready to settle down with erroneous views and untenable principles. It further gave a moral sanction to enquiries, originated works of similar tendencies, and thus contributed largely towards preserving Jewish literature from falling entirely into that one-sided direction pursued by its most eminent cultivators in their exclusive talmudical study. Some of the most distinguished Jews have been stirred up by this work, and their minds have been fructified by its contents. Of these may be mentioned Nachmanides among the earlier, Don Isaac Abarbanel among the latter, and Moses Mendelssohn among the modern Jewish scholars; it is to the incessant study of the Moreh Nebuchim at an early period of his life, that Mendelssohn is said to have owed his disfigured

body. Besides this, the two works, unjustly attacked with so much virulence have the great and unquestionable merit of having eradicated from the nation those gross and material notions of spiritual things, entertained not only by the mass but also by many Rabbis. In the apologetic letter written by Bedrashi to Rabbi Shelomoh ben Adereth, in defence of the study of philosophy, at the time when the controversy about the Moreh Nebuchim was resuscitated, the apologist could state "and now thank God this injurious belief is rooted out from among all classes; we do not hear of any one that would defend it or confirm it." So strongly indeed did the leaders of the nation become impressed with the erroneousness of such gross notions, of their incompatibility with Judaism and their danger to morality, and so anxious were they to render the recurrence of these notions impossible that the solemn renunciation of them was henceforth introduced into the liturgy. The song of Yigdal among the Aschkenasim rests upon those spiritual views taught by Maimonides, and the Sephardim have added to the hymn Adon Olam, the phrase (not contained in the Aschkenasim prayer book) "He cannot be compared or likened, nor does he alter or change, nor does he consist of parts."

We now proceed to enumerate his works dividing them into the following classes, I. Talmudical, II. Philosophical, III. Mathematical, IV. Medical, V. Miscellaneous.

TALMUDICAL.

I. Perush Hamishurah (Commentary on the Mishnah). This, according to his own testimony, was commenced in Spain in his twenty-third year and finished in Egypt in his thirtieth year. He wrote it orginally in Arabic, his native tongue, under the title Ketab Al Serag, which was translated into Hebrew, Sepher Hamaor, (book of light,) and manuscripts of it in the original language are still extant in various libraries; among others in the Bodleian. Parts of it were at different periods translated into Hebrew. Rabbi Samuel Eben Tibbon, who translated into Hebrew

Maimonides' preface to the Ethics of the Fathers, and the commentary to Chelek, a section of the treatise of Sanhedrin, was the first to attempt the task, The next was the well known poet Rabbi Yehoodah Charisi, the author of the Tachkemoni. He undertook this task at the request of the principal Jews of Marseilles, which at that time contained a very flourishing Jewish community. He translated the first order (Seder Seraim), and the highly valuable introduction generally, although erroneously considered as preparatory to the order of Seraim (S. Geig. Zschr. ii. 274.) It was completed whilst Maimonides was still alive. It seems however, soon to have perished: for Joseph ben Isaac ben Alfual, the translator of the second order (Seder Moed), who lived only fifty or sixty years after Charisi, says in his preface to the treatise of Terumoth, that he made enquiries in Spain and that the translations of five treatises only could be found: these five treatises are still extant. When these portions had reached the Jews of Rome, they wished to possess the whole, and therefore sent a messenger, Rabbi Simcha, to Barcelona; but being disappointed in his expectation, the messenger went to a city in Arragon, which Wolfius spells Wasehka,[44] where he found the original Arabic of two orders, viz., Moed and Nashim; the first was translated into Hebrew by the just mentioned Alfual, and was completed in 1247; the second, with the assistance of the physician Rabbi Chaim ben Salomo Ibn Baka, was translated by Rabbi Yakob ben Moshe ben Achsai Badrashi. Thence Rabbi Simcha set out for Saragossa, where he found the other orders in Arabic, with the exception of the order of Tehoroth. Upon this Rabbi Salom ben Yoseph ben Yacob rendered the order of Nesikin into Hebrew. The order of kadashim was translated by R. Nathanal ben Yosua Almali, and that of Tehoroth by an anonymous writer. The Mishnah, with his commentary and that of R. Obadiah of Bartenora, has frequently been printed and has found a learned Latin translator, Guilielmus Surenhusius, who published his translation at Amsterdam, (few treatises have been rendered by others) between 1675 and 1689.

On the published texts of the work, Dr. Carmoly (Annalen 1840, N. 13), says, "This much is certain that we possess a very faulty text especially in the commentary to Seraim, since mistakes exist in quantities, particularly in the introduction, as may readily be seen by a comparison of the original which appeared with a latin translation.[45] Asulai too has testified (in Vaad Lach. 1. כ 8) that he has seen two sections in an ancient manuscript containing an explanation of the difficult words occurring in the Talmud and its rules which are wanting in our introduction."

"It would be highly desirable that some scholar should copy the whole of the Arabic original extant in some libraries, or rectify the Hebrew text by it. The learned world would receive such a labour with thanks."

The very valuable introductions prefixed by Maimonides to the various orders or single treatises have been translated into Latin and published by the celebrated orientalist, Pocock, under the title of Porta Mosis, (Gate of Moses). This work appeared at Oxford in 1655.

This Commentary on the Mishnah however was not his first work, for in the preface to this book, he says that he had commented on three divisions of the Guemara. From the preface of Yakob ben Achsai, the translator of "Nashim," it appears that he wrote the Commentaries in Arabic, and in the commentary on the Mishnah Tamid, V. 1, he quotes the laws compiled from the Talmud Yerushalmi (S. Annalen, N. 40, year 1839). The commentary to Rosh Hashanah has been brought by Mons. Monk to Paris. A book of Maimonides, quoted by Asulai (דעו I. 2, 16), under the title of Seder Olam (a Methodology of the Talmud), is conjectured by S. to be perhaps identical with the introduction of Maimonides to the commentary of the Mishna.

II. Mishnah Torah (Repetition of the Law), also called (probably in allusion to the fourteen books of which it consists), Yad (יד 14). Chasakah (strong hand). This work is written in pure Hebrew

and is a methodically arranged digest of all Talmudical decisions, the references to the Talmudical sources however being omitted. It is divided into fourteen books. The first is called "Sepher Hamada" (the Book of Knowledge) in which the author treats of the Principles of the Law, of Idolatry and Repentance. It was this book which together with the Moreh gave rise to the controversy described elsewhere. The soundness of the doctrines, the sublimity of the precepts, and the correctness of the views therein detailed have at all times attracted the attention of the scholar, and portions of it have been translated into various languages, among others into English by Ralph Skinner. Maimonides prefixed to this book a preface in which he declares his motives for writing the work, states his views on the Oral Law, and enumerates the 613 precepts contained in the Pentateuch.

The second book is called Sepher Ahabah (the Book of Love). It treats of various devotional rites and ceremonies, such as the reading of the Shema Israel, of the wearing of the phylacteries, the fringes, &c. Various portions of this book have been translated into Latin.

The third book, Semanim (Seasons) treats of the Sabbath and Festivals, and the rites and ceremonies connected therewith.

The fourth book, called Nashim, (Women,) treats of Marriage, Divorce, and all relations connected with or growing out of the state of marriage.

The fifth book, Sepher Kedushah (Book of Holiness,) treats of acts derogatory to the dignity of the Israelite, as the partaking of prohibited food, &c. A portion of this book has been translated by Prideaux, and was published at Oxford in 1649.

The sixth, is Sepher Haplaah, (Book of Uncommon Things;) it treats of oaths, vows, and the like. A portion of this book is translated into Latin.

The seventh book treats of Seraim (Seeds), produce of the soil, and the various laws connected therewith. Portions of it are translated into Latin.

The eighth is the Sepher Abodah (Book of Service.) It treats of the temple and its vessels, the divine service, the daily and additional sacrifices, and every other circumstance connected with these matters. The whole book has been translated into Latin.

The ninth book treats of Korbanoth (Sacrifices), viz., of those brought on occasions other than those mentioned in the foregoing book. The whole of this book is also translated into Latin.

The tenth is the Sepher Tahorah (Book of Purification); it treats of things, contact with which renders unclean, and also of a mode of purification; a portion of this book has been translated into Latin.

The eleventh book treats of Nesikin (Damages) and their compensation.

The twelfth is the Sepher Kinian (Book of Property,) and treats of the modes of conveying property, of partnership, and of other circumstances growing out of these relations.

The thirteenth, the Sepher Mishpatim (Book of Judgments), treats of all kinds of trusts, loans, &c.

The last book, Shoftim (Judges), treats of the Sanhedrin, witnesses, rebels, kings, wars, and other relations connected with these subjects. Nearly the whole of this most remarkable book exists in Latin translations. The 8th, 9th, and 10th, chapters have been rendered into Latin by Prideaux, and appeared in 1679 at Oxford.

This work has been frequently printed, probably for the first time in 1490, at Soncini. It has found several annotators, many of whose commentaries are now published with the text. To the edition now before us (which appeared at Furth in the year 5527, A.M.), there are added six commentaries. The high opinion which Maimonides himself entertained of this work appears from several passages in his letters. In one place, recommending its study to his disciple, Joseph, about to open an academy at Babylon, he goes so far as to caution him against Talmudical discussions as useless; and he further says that he himself had spent much time

in them with little advantage, (Iggaroth Haramb. Amsterdam edition, p. 17.)

III. Sepher Hamtisvoth, (the Book of Precepts). This is an exposition of the 613 precepts enumerated in the preface to the Mishnah Torah. It was originally written in Arabic, and a manuscript in this language is still in the Bodleian.

IV. Maamar Techyath Hamethim (Epistle on the Resurrection of the Dead), originally written in Arabic, and translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Shemuel Eben Tibbon, It has also been translated into Latin. Steinschneider conjectures that it was written in 1192, and translated into Hebrew in 1201.

V. Commentary to the Ghemarah, viz., to the three parts Moed, Nashim, and Nisikin, as also to the treatise of Cholin. It was written in Arabic. This work seems not to have been preserved to our age. The Commentary of Rosh Hashanah however, as stated above, is still extant.

VI. Questions and answers treating on various rites, on which his opinion was asked by certain French and Spanish scholars. There is another work extant under the same name, originally written in Arabic, which has not yet been published, and a copy of which is in the Bodleian.

PHILOSOPHICAL.

I. Moreh Nebuchim (Teacher of the Perplexed). This work was originally written in Arabic; copies of it in that language are still extant, four being in the Bodleian. It was translated into Hebrew during the lifetime of the author. The first translator was Rabbi Yehoodah, author of the Tachkhemoni, also mentioned as the translator of a portion of the commentary on the Mishnah. This version, however, seems to have been very obscure, and was soon superseded by that of R. Shemuel Eben Tibbon. The latter consulted his predecessor on doubtful passages,

and sent to Maimonides for revision the Arabic copy from which he had made the translation. Eben Tibbon desirous of personally consulting the author, informed Maimonides of his intention to repair from France to Egypt, and it was on this occasion that Maimonides wrote him that memorable letter (a portion of which has been translated elsewhere) in which he describes the laborious life he led. It is this translation which is in our possession. In the printed copies it is generally preceded by the index composed by Alcharisi for his version. The index seems to be the only portion of Alcharisi's labour still extant. The Moreh Nebuchim has been commented upon by several scholars, and in modern times by the ingenious Solomon ben Maimon. It has found various Latin translators, among whom the best known is J. Buxtorf, jun., whose version appeared at Basle, in 1629. Portions of it have been translated into various modern languages. Townley translated into English that portion which treats of the "Reasons for the Commandments." There exists a German translation of the whole, by Dr. Scheyer, on which criticism has pronounced a favorable verdict. As, however, the Hebrew from which these translations have been made, is in many places obscure, it is to be regretted that all the modern versions should have been made from this copy. This probably induced the celebrated orientalist Mons. Munk of Paris to prepare a new French version from the original Arabic, the publication of which would be hailed by all Oriental scholars.

This work, as stated in the preface, was originally undertaken by Maimonides for the benefit of his favorite disciple, Rabbi Joseph, settled in Aleppo. It is divided into three parts; the first contains 76 chapters, and treats of the various synonymes, homonymes, metaphors, allegories, and similies found in scripture, and moreover comments on prophecy—heaven, the universe, and angels. The second part discourses in forty-eight chapters on God, on the celestial bodies and their influence, and on the Law. The third divided into eighty-four chapters, treats on the vision

of Ezekiel, Providence, and the reasons for the divine commandments.

II. Epistle to the Learned of Marseilles, written in 1194, (Geigers Zeitschrift iii., 287.) This is an answer to questions put to him concerning certain persons who believing in astrology, wished to explain every thing by means of that pretended science, and concerning a certain Jew who boasted to be the Messiah. It has been translated into Latin.

III. Maamar Hayichud (a treatise on the Unity), was originally written in Arabic, and thence translated into Hebrew by R. Isaac ben Nathan. It has been recently edited and published for the first time by M. Steinschneider (L. B. Orient, N. 5, 1847.) It was written after the Moreh and is a digest of what the author stated on this dogma in his Yad Chasakah.

IV. Miloth Higayon [terms (used in the art) of thinking.] This is a treatise on logic, originally written in Arabic, and translated into Hebrew by R. Moses Eben Tibbon. It has been rendered into Latin, and has been printed several times with its commentaries. It has also been commented upon by Mendelssohn, and translated into German by M. S. Neumann.

MEDICAL.

I. Compendium of the Canon of Avicenna. A beautiful Hebrew manuscript of this work is preserved at the Dominican convent at Bologna. The following remarkable words are prefixed to it in Hebrew: "Eben Cinna, from the translation of Rabbi Moses Maimon (blessed be his memory) made in Egypt from the book of Eben Cinna, which he received from the great Sultan, the King of Egypt, in the year 4946 from the creation." Bened. Montfaucon, who relates this in his diary on Italy (p. 402), subjoins that an Italian epistle added at the end states that Ferdinand I., had offered in vain two hundred gold pieces for this copy.

II. Hanhagoth Habryuth (on the Preservation of Health). This treatise, originally written in Arabic, is an epistle addressed to the King of Egypt; and is also known under the given title. A manuscript in that language is still preserved in the Bodleian. It has been translated into Latin and German, and printed in these languages.

III. Sepher Harephuoth (The Book of Cures). This is mentioned by the author in Mishna Torah, Hilchoth Deah c. iv. § 21, as being written by him. According to Sabtai (Sifte Yeshenim, p. 71, N. 45) the manuscript is still extant in the Imperial Library of Vienna. According to Conforti Kore Hadorot, (p. 12) it is identical with Pirkeh Mosheh.

IV. Commentary on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, according to the doctrines of Galenus, in 7 chapters. A Latin translation of this work made from a Hebrew version of R. Mosheh Eben Tibbon has been printed. The Hebrew manuscript, under the title of Sepher al Rephuah (Book on Medicine,) is still extant in the library of the Vatican

V. Garden of Health. This work treats of the animal and mineral productions of nature. (Immanuel Aboab in Nomologia, p. 275.)

VI. Sepher Hanimzah (The Book of Existence). This is a medical and moral treatise, which appeared in print at Saloniki in 5356 (1596).

VII. Aphorisms of medicine, extracted from Hippocrates, Galen, Al-Razi, Ebn Masooe, and Alsuzi. It consists of 25 chapters and has been translated from the original Arabic into Hebrew, by Nathan Hamaati. This version has been published under the title "Perke Mosheh." A Latin translation of it has also appeared. Immanuel Aboab states that he has heard from skilful physicians, and particularly from Mercurial, that the Aphorisms of Maimonides are not inferior to those of Hippocrates. The work must have been written posterior to 1190, the Moreh being quoted in it.

VIII. Compendia from 21 books, viz. 16 from Galen, and 5 from the works of other authors. They are written in Arabic. Munk brought portions of it to Paris and rectified the mistake of the bibliographers, his predecessors, who mentioned only the compends from the 16 books of Galen (Annal. vol. III. p. 94.)

IX. Treatise on the Hemorrhoides and their treatment, translated from the Arabic into Hebrew, by R. Shemuel Eben Tibbon; manuscripts of both the original and version are preserved in the Royal Library of Paris.

X. A Treatise on Poisons and Medicines which may cause death —a Hebrew version, made also by the above-named, is preserved in the same place.

XI. Consultation on the snoring of the nose and throat (*Consultation sur le ronflement du nez et du gosier, etc.,*) translated from the Arabic into Hebrew by the same, and manuscript kept in the same place.

XII. A Treatise on Coitus—a Hebrew version of which exists both at Paris and in De Rossi's library at Parma.

XIII. A treatise on the Asthma, and the remedies for curing it; it is translated into Hebrew, and preserved in the two libraries mentioned.

XIV. Exposition of Drugs; an Arabic Pharmacopeia, quoted by Ebn Abi Osaiba.

XV. Consultation of Medicine (Consultation de Medicine), composed for a prince of his century, who was a valetudinarian and a hypochondriac. A Hebrew translation made from the Arabic by the above is preserved at Paris.

XVI. Method of curing those who have been bitten by venomous beasts, or have been poisoned. This treatise, written in 1198, at the command of the Sultan, and quoted by D'Herbelot, under "Mocalat al-Hasliat", has been translated into Hebrew, and manuscripts of the version exist in the libraries of Paris and Parma. It was written according to Steinschneider in 1198.

XVII. Treatise on the causes of maladies, written in Arabic, and extant in the Bodleian (De Rossi Diz. II., p. 33.)

XVIII. Compendium of the medicine of Galen. Perhaps (conjectures Steinschneider) the books De Alimentis, De Medic. simpl. and Galeni De Arte Medendi (in 6 chapters) belong to the Compendium. It was written prior to 1190, it being mentioned by Abdullatif.

XIX. On the Podagra; a Spanish translation exists at the Escurial (Wof. III, XXI, b.). Steinschneider first called attention to this writing which is perhaps only a portion of some other work (Oestr. Bl. p. 119). *

MISCELLANEOUS.

I. Iggereth Teman (Epistle to the South); this was originally written in Arabic, and subsequently translated into Hebrew under the title of Petach Tikvah (Door of Hope). This version as well as the Latin translation have been printed. This epistle, written in 1174 (see the letter to the sages of Marseilles), was addressed to the Jews inhabiting the countries of the South, in order to strengthen them in their faith, and to inspire them with fortitude under the religious persecutions to which they were then subject, and to caution them against the imposition of a pretended Messiah then endeavoring to mislead the Jews. The occurrence which called forth the epistle is thus related by Maimonides in this document. "A man arose twenty-two years back, in the south country who stated that he was a messenger, sent to prepare the way for the coming of Messiah. He further said that the King Messiah would reveal himself in the south country. Upon this, many people, both Jews and Arabs assembled, and he wandered about in the moun-

* In the account of the medical works we have followed Dr. Carmoly's *Histoire des Medecins Juifs*, and Mr. Steinschneider who in many places has corrected the errors of his predecessors.

tains leading them astray, and calling out, 'come with me, and let us go out to meet Messiah, for he sent me to you to make even the path for him.' And our brethren in the south country wrote to me a long letter informing me of his manners and habits, and of the innovations introduced by him into the prayers, and of what he told them. They further stated that they had witnessed such and such of his miracles, and they asked my opinion of him. I inferred from the letter that this unfortunate man was insane, without any learning, but still fearing God, and that what he said he had done was all a lie. Fearing for the Jews there, I wrote an explicit epistle on Messiah, his characteristics, and the signs of the times in which he is to appear, and warned them to caution the pretender lest he perish, and the congregations with him. After a year he was taken prisoner, and all his adherents fled from him. One of the kings of Arabia who took him prisoner, said to him, 'What hast thou done?' upon which he replied— 'My lord, or king, I speak the truth, for I have acted at the command of the Lord.' The king said, 'what proof hast thou?' He replied — 'cut off my head, and I shall be restored to life, and be as before.' The king said, 'there is no stronger proof than this, and if it be so, I and the whole world will believe in thee.' At the command of the king his head was cut off, and the Jews of many places were heavily fined. There are still however many silly persons who say, he will be restored to life, and rise from his grave."

II. Iggaroth Lehamaor Hagadol (Epistles to the Great Light.). This is a collection of letters on various subjects, addressed to Maimonides by Spanish and French scholars, together with his replies. It has been printed, together with the Moral Precepts and Will, (Dibre Mussar Vetzvaah) addressed to his only son.

III. Certain Manuscript Letters of Maimonides, written in Arabic, they are preserved in the Bodleian N. 5393, among the codd. of Pocock, N. 66.

IV. Sepher Hanephesh (Book of the Soul) *ibid.*

V. A book on the Calendar, in Hebrew, still in manuscript, preserved in the royal library of Paris, written probably in 1158. Dr. Carmoly, however, who gives an account of this work, has doubts as to whether Maimonides is the real author of it. (S. Annalen, 1839, N. 40.

VI. Two chapters on Happiness (Pirke Hahatslachah). This treatise is according to Rapaport (S. L. B. to the Israel. 1846, p. 136, b) addressed to his disciple Ibn Aknin. It was originally written in Arabic. Its Hebrew translator is as yet unknown nor has the time of its composition been ascertained. According to Steinschneider its authenticity is not yet sufficiently established.

VII. Treatise on the Sanctification of the Name of God (Maamar Kidus Hashem). From this work Dr. Carmoly has published some extracts in German in the Annalen (Vol. I., p. 309, 332, Vol. II. N. 32, 44).

VIII. Arabic poems of Maimonides are contained in the anthology of Abu Bahr Szafwan b. Idris from Yaen. To Maimonides is also ascribed the authorship of some Peyutim (See M. ben Esra by Dukes, p. 107.)

IX. Iggaroth Harambam (letters of Rambam). This is a most interesting collection of some of the letters addressed to Maimonides on various subjects and his replies. It appeared in Hebrew at Constantinople, 1522, and has been several times printed. Some of these letters were originally written in Arabic, manuscripts of which are still extant in the Bodleian.* This work is of great importance, containing as it does literary notices, and very interesting information as to the author, his contemporaries, and the views and movements of the age. Besides this collection there is another extant entitled Peer Hador translated into Hebrew

* Of the libraries in possession of manuscripts, we quoted (from obvious reasons) only those of our own country, and desirous of avoiding prolixity, we mostly mentioned only translations made into learned languages, or into our own tongue.

by Mordechi Jama from an arabic manuscript formerly in possession of Sasportas of Amsterdam, but now belonging to Dr. Geiger of Breslau (L. B. of the Isr., 1846, p. 135). The Hebrew version has been published at Amsterdam in 1765.*

* On comparing this list with such as are given by other writers on Hebrew Literature it will be observed that we have omitted several works ascribed by others to Maimonides. We have followed in this instance our often quoted learned friend Steinschneider, and other modern critics, by whose labors it has been proved that those omitted here were not written by Maimonides.

NOTES.

Note 1, p. 1.—He was also called R. Moshe Hasphardi (the Spaniard), by Nachmanides; or Hamitsri (the Egyptian); or Moshe ben Ebed Haelokim Hacordovi Haisraeli, as at the commencement of the aphorisms of Hippocrates, commented on by Maimonides (See Wolf s. v.—De Rossi, cod. 354, 1178;) or Abu Amran Musah ben Abdallah ben Maimon Allardoai Alasreli (De Sacy in Abdollat, p. 490. Casiri Cod. 798.) Not only by the Arabs, but evenby himself was Maimonides called Abdallah (servant of God): see his preface to Sepher Hamitsvoth. Wustenfeld says that he was also called El Ifiki, from a small town on the banks of the Nile. Steinschneider shrewdly asks, if this name was given to him because he first lived there?

Note 2, p. 1.—Castro in Bibliotica espaniola I. 2; as also Basnage, History of the Jews, Book 7, chap. 5, describe this event as having taken place in 948. But the year 960, or perhaps even later, is more probable; compare Dr. Frankel's Zeitschr. Jahrgang, II. p. 460, note 6.

Note 3, p. 2.—See introduction to the Talmud by R. Samuel Hanaged. See further Aben Ezra's commentary to the law, Book I, Ch. XII, 6; XIII 7; XXII, 15; Book V., Chap. 1, 2. 34. But long before this author, Chiv Hakalbi, a contemporary of Saadiah had endcavoured to reason away the miracles recorded in the law. According to him, the passage through the Red Sea was effected by means of the tides; manna was the manna still gathered in Arabia, and Moses was obliged occasionally to cover his face, because the people were afraid of his dried up face which, from long fasting, looked like a horn. (See Aben Ezra, Book II, chap. XIV, 27; chap. XVI. 14; XXXIV. 29. Comp. also, Saadias Emunoth Vedeoth, Sect. I, and Geigers Zeitsch. Vol. I, pp. 18, 312, 313,

Note 4. p. 2.—See Wolf and De Rossi *in loco Geigers*, Zeitschrift, vol. I. p. 106 According to the researches of Dr. Carmoly (Annalen 1839, N. 40), he was born March 30, 1135. According to Zunz (Asher's Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela. vol. II. p. 254), it took place on the 30th of March, 1135. See also Kerem Chemed, VII. p. 253.

Note 5, p. 3.—His ancestors are enumerated by Maimonides in the following order: "I Moses son of Maimon, the judge, son of R Joseph, the wise, son of R. Isaac, the judge, son of R. Joseph, the judge, son of R. Obadiah, the judge, son of R. Shelomoh, the judge." (See the conclusion of his Commentary to the Mishnah.) In his epistle to the South, Maimonides states

that he possessed a very ancient pedigree of his family, which went back as far as the immigration of his ancestors into Spain.

Eclipsed by the glory of his son, Maimon is more neglected than he would otherwise be, for he was an author of no mean order. Simeon Duran, in his Questions and Responses, (I. 2,) quotes a work of Maimon on Prayers and Festivals, written in Arabic. (S. Annal. 1839, No. 39, 40.)

Note 6, p. 3.—Literally son of the commandment. For the information of the Christian reader, it may be necessary to state, that the religious responsibility of the male members of the Jewish community commences at the thirteenth year, and that this anniversary is generally celebrated with certain religious rites and festivities.

Note 7, p. 7.—This statement has been warmly disputed by several scholars, and in modern times, by the eminent Orientalist Lebrecht of Berlin (S. Magazin für Literatur des Auslandes, Iahrg. 1844, No. 45.) But all their arguments appear to us insufficient to shake the historical confidence in the direct evidence borne to this dissimulation by Arabic writers, (S. Abulfaradge and Casiri in loco, Herbelot, p. 538.) Assemani, (Cod. 370), even goes so far as to say, that as a Mahometan Maimonides was called Hadhi Abu Omar. The silence of his Jewish opponents on this point proves nothing. for in the first place they could scarcely have charged Maimonides with a fault which was not his, but that of his father; secondly, it may be presumed that in troublous times like those when not law but the caprice of tyrants ruled—when experience had taught that caprice might in a moment be annulled, either by another caprice, or, by the death of the tyrant; when expulsions were so frequent, when escape was sometimes impossible, as the exiles were not received in the countries to which escape was practicable—it may be presumed that under the pressure of such circumstances a passive acquiescence in enactments which did not require a public denial of religion, or any public act implying a change of religion, was then by a kind of mutual suffrage not considered as apostacy. (S. Notice sur Joseph ben Jeh, p. 3, f. 38, by Mons. Munk; Orient 1846, L. B. N, 42,) Eminent literati, moreover, have vouched for the authenticity of the manuscript in the possesion of Dr. Carmoly, of Brussels, from which the extracts published in the Annalen have been taken.

It is, moreover, not true that this dissimulation, on the part of so many congregations passed by unnoticed by the Jews. It was strongly condemned by a certain contemporary Jewish rabbi, and called forth a reply from Maimonides, in which, alluding to the views of the ancient sages, he seeks to establish a difference between idolatry and the Mahometan monotheism, and between a voluntary apostacy and a compulsory passive acquiescence in doctrines generally known to be disbelieved by the Conformists, (S. Annalen, 1839, 41 & 42,) and consisting in the confession that the prophet was a good and honest man, (Ibid. N. 40.)

Note 8, p. 6.—S. Maimonides' Preface to Seder Seraim; Wolf. sub R. Isaac ben Jacob Alfasi and R, Joseph bar Mier Halevi.

Note 9, p. 6.—S. Yad Hachas. Shalah Upikadon V. and his Com. on treatise Aboth IV.

Note 10, p. 6.—S. Wolf, S. Voc; Zunz Zur Gesch, etc., p. 405.

Note 11, p. 6.—S. D'Herbelots Bibliotheque Orientale sub Saieg; Penny Cyclopedia, Sub Averroes.

Note 12, p. 6.—From a note in Sepher Charidim by rabbi Eleazer Askari (also found in M. commentary on the treatise of Rosh Hashanah, brought by Munk from Egypt,) it appears that Maimon first embarked, with his family,

for North Africa on the 18th April, 1165, and on the 16th May of the same year arrived at Acco, when he said "And I was saved from Apostacy."

Note 13, p. 7.—S. Annalen, 1840, N. 5, where an extract is made from Sepher Charidim, ed Ven f. 66, I.

Note 14, p. 7. — This was probably owing to the fanaticism of the crusaders. Rabbi Petachia of Regensburg, who travelled during the 12th century through the holy land, when Jerusalem was still in possession of the Christians, mentions several small congregations there, but states expressly that at Jerusalem there was only one single Jew, Rabbi Abraham the dyer, who was obliged to pay a large sum to the king for the permission of living there; Benjamin of Tudela, however, who travelled about the same time found there 200 Jews.

Note 15, p. 8.—In this business so suitable to a wandering life, where it is desirable that the greatest value be combined with the smallest bulk possible, he seems to have been engaged together with a friend who traded to India. Alexandria then one of the greatest mercantile cities was exceedingly well situated for similar speculations. This conjecture is founded on the following letter, written by Maimonides whilst in Egypt to R. Japhet of Acco; wherein he says, "In Egypt I underwent severe and great trials partly through illness, partly through loss of property, and partly through traitors who strove after my life. But the misfortune which I lament most, and which pains me more than anything I have hitherto suffered, is the death of the excellent who perished in the Indian Ocean and with him a considerable fortune belonging to me, himself, and friends: —he left with me his widow and a little daughter. Nearly a whole year after the arrival of the news I lay ill, feverish, and delirious, afflicted with a malignant eruption. Eight years have since elapsed and I still mourn disconsolate. What can console me? He was my disciple, my friend, my business agent, and through him I enjoyed rest;—he was very learned in the Talmud and in scriptures and philology; he was my only one, my whole delight. "Now he has gone to life eternal and has left me behind in a strange country deeply grieved! as often as I see his hand-writing, or any of his books, my pain and my grief awake anew. In short, 'I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning.' Were not the study of the law my delight, and did not science often divert me from my grief, I should succumb to the misery." (S. Annalen, 1840, N. 11.)

M. Lebrecht of Berlin, however, is of a different opinion, and in an article on the jewel trade (inserted in the Mag. f, d. Lit, des Ansl. N. 45, for 1845.) he denies that Maimonides was ever engaged in this trade, but, that he supported himself with the proceeds realised by the sale of his own jewels.

Note 16, p. 9.—S. Penny Cyclopedia, sub. Salah-e-dien; D'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orient. sub. Schirgoueh.

Note 17, p. 9.—His life may be read in Ibn Challikan under N. 384. Abdallatif in his autobiography relates that during the siege of Acco by Saladdin when one day visiting Alfadhl he found the cadi engaged in writing a letter, whilst he at the same time dictated two others. The excellence of his character, and his great zeal in the cause of science is praised by all contemporaries.

Note 18, p. 9.—S. Abulfaradge Hist. Dynast, p. 454. Maimonides seems to have occupied the position held before him by a man of whom R. Benjamin says, "R. Nathaniel is the principal man. He is the head of the college, and that of all the congregations of Egypt, having power to appoint Rabbis

and Chasanim, and he attends the sons of the great king who resides in the palace of Zoan Mitsraim (S. edit. Asher, p. 98., II. 197, 201). This was previous to 1170. In a note to this passage (II. p. 254) Zunz throws out a conjecture, whether this Nathaniel be not identical with the celebrated physician Hibet Allah Ibn Dshem. That this physician (who died in 1139) was in the service of Saladin is maintained by Osaiba. The identity of the Hebrew (נתן אל) Nathaniel with the Arabic Hibet Allah, may also be conjectured from the circumstance that the two names have almost the same significations in both languages (viz., a present of God), and that therefore the Arabic may be a translation of the Hebrew. Mr. Steinschneider has, in his highly esteemed writings on Arabic and Hebrew literature, amply proved that many Arabic Jewish scholars translated their names into Arabic. It may therefore be further conjectured that Maimonides was appointed the successor of R. Nathaniel, and vested with his authority. This circumstance, if ever verified, will at once explain the position of Maimonides in Egypt.

Note 19, p. 9.—This is stated by Alkifti in Casiri's well known work. As the year is not mentioned when Maimonides received this call it is impossible to ascertain the name of the Christian prince. It must however have been one of the following kings who reigned in Palestine during Maimonides' stay in Egypt. Amalruk son of Baldouin III. (died in 1173), his son, Baldouin IV. (died in 1185), his grand son Baldouin V. (died in 1186), Guido of Lusignan, taken prisoner by Saladin in the battle of Tiberias (S. Orient. for 1846 L. B. N. 22.)

Note 20, p. 10.—It is known that on conquering Jerusalem, the crusaders cruelly massacred the whole Jewish population resident there.

Note 21, p. 10.—According to Alkifti he married a sister of Abulmaali, secretary to the mother of Nureddin Ali; Abulmaali himself married to a sister of Maimonides, a son of whom Abulridha, a skilful physician, was in the service of Kalidsh Arselan in Asia Minor.

Note 22, p. 10.—S. Abdallatif, ed. De Sacy, p. 539. The author relates that he was attracted to Egypt by three persons, one of whom was Maimonides.

Note 23, p. 12.—This appears from a statement of Abdallatif who in describing his interview with Maimonides (which took place in 1190), mentions him as the author of the Guide of the perplexed, (S. the preceding note).

Note 24. p. 12.—This work was written for his disciple Joseph, who was chief of the congregation of Aleppo, and head of the school, (S. Notice sur Joseph ben Yehoudah, by Munk). Joseph ben Juda ben Simon, called ben Aknin, came from the West to Egypt, and sent to Maimonides from Alexandria, verses expressive of his longing to study under him. He subsequently became Maimonides' most faithful and best disciple. (Annal. 1840. No. 27.)

No. 25. p. 14.—Besides his frequent allusions to an habitual state of weakness, R. Shemuel Ebn Tibbon, in a letter to Maimonides, expressly mentions a protracted illness from which Maimonides had lately recovered. This could not have been the illness mentioned in note 15, as this afflicted him soon after his arrival in Egypt.

Note 26. p. 14.—On his exertions for the cause of Rabbanism, we read in the Annalen, (1840, No. 11. extracted from Maimonides Quest. et Respons. Peer Hador, 152) the following:—At that time, the Rabbinites were much less numerous in Egypt than the Caraites, so that nearly the majority

of the community at Fostat followed the customs of the Caraites, especially with respect to the regulations for women. Maimonides, however, through his influence, effected that the older Rabbinical laws should be again put in force, and every woman, before her marriage, was obliged to swear that she would obey them. A proclamation, signed by ten Rabbis, at whose head Maimonides stood, was published in 1167 in all schools and synagogues, and the women were commanded, under the punishment of excommunication, to adhere strictly to all Rabbinical regulations, the transgression of which was declared more sinful than that of the written law. They were further, in case of transgression, threatened with the forfeiture of all claims on their dower, &c. The conclusion of this proclamation declares all the contents as an irreversible order for all future Jewish courts of justice in Egypt, for all generations, as inviolable as the law itself. These measures cannot, doubtless, escape condemnation in a tolerant age, that considers liberty of conscience as one of the noblest victories achieved in the cause of humanity. It is manifest, however, how wrong it would be to test means adopted in the twelfth century by a standard furnished by the nineteenth. It is the accumulated errors of the past which form the experience of the present,—its follies were the stepping-stone to our wisdom. The weakness of man is never more apparent, and never conveys a more instructive lesson than when manifested in a strong mind. Perhaps this severity raised him those deadly foes of whom he complains elsewhere. Nor can Maimonides be charged with inconsistency when he elsewhere (Iggaroth Haramb. p. 45, Amsterd. Edit.) says: "It is fit to do honor to the Caraites living here in No Amon, in the Land of Israel, in Damascus and other places, to associate with them in godly works, and to behave towards them in a humble, truthful, and peaceable manner as long as they act towards us sincerely and refrain from improper language, abuse, and insult against the sages of the Rabbinites of the generation." For though, agreeably to his principles, recommending tolerance and charity towards such as had been born and reared in the errors of Caraism, he yet felt himself called upon to oppose the propagation of erroneous opinions among such as were born and brought up in the orthodox community. The conclusion of the quotation just made, compared with the tenor of the above proclamation, will no doubt bear out this view.

Note 27, p. 17—This is thus related by Alkifti: "Towards the end of his life he fell into an embarrassment, for a Spanish jurisconsult, named Abitarab ben Moischa, coming to Egypt, and there meeting Maimonides, recognised the Jew, and accused him of apostacy, demanding his condemnation. From this misfortune, however, Abd-el Rahim saved him by declaring a compulsory confession of faith to be illegal." (S. L. B. Orient, 1846, and Notice sur Joseph, ben Jehouda, by Munk).

Note 28. p. 17.—Abulfaradge says, that before his death he desired his heirs to embalm his body, and to inter it by the lake of Tiberias, where many saints reposed. R. Samuel Shalam, in a note to Yuchasin, (edit. Cracow, p. 131,) is of the same opinion; he adds, however, that according to others he was buried at Hebron, by the side of the patriarchs. On his tomb were engraven, according to Shalsheleth Hakkabalah, the words (Deut. xxxiv. 8.) "Weeping and mourning for Moses."

Note 29, p. 18.—See his Letters to his Disciples in Iggaroth Harambam, and especially that quoted in note 15.

Note 30, p. 18.—It may not be out of place here to trace the fate of the descendants of Maimonides. We follow the account given of them by Dr. Carmoly, in No. 7. of the Annalen for 1839, where also the

authorities are quoted. These descendants were Abraham, who begat David, whose son was Abraham, who begat Salomo. The son of Abraham was Joshua, and the son of Salomo Moses. Joshua begat David, who died at Damascus, and Moses begat Abraham, who was the father of Obadiah, whose son David had two sons, who, in the year 1429, were carried away as prisoners by the enemy, when nothing more was heard of them. All his descendants appear to have been distinguished for piety and learning, and to have held the position of chiefs in the communities where they resided. Indeed, this is certain of R. Abraham, son of Maimonides. His grandson, also called R. Abraham (born in 1249), converted a whole community of Caraites. R. David ben R. Joshua is expressly mentioned by a contemporary as the great chief of the community of Damascus. His son Abraham was born in 1185. Whilst yet of a tender age he displayed great talents. He was the delight of his father, who conceived great hopes of him. In a letter to his disciple Joseph he says, "With respect to my worldly affairs, there are two things which comfort me: in the first place, study; and, secondly, the observation that my son Abraham possesses all the good qualities of his patriarchal namesake of blessed memory; he is most discreet, highly moral, and at the same time sagacious and intellectual; he will no doubt some day acquire a great name." His father sent him to Spain to the great scholar Abul Fazail ben Al. Nakd.

Note 31, p. 18.—See Munk's Notice sur Joseph ben Jehoudah, where, in a letter written in October 1191, by Maimonides, to his favourite disciple, the master, says, among other things, "Know that in medicine I have acquired a great reputation among the great, with the superior judge, Emirs, the family Alfadhl, and other great of the town; this obliges me to spend the whole day at Cairo in order to visit patients." See also Maimonides' letter to Shemuel Ebn Tibbon, given elsewhere. He however delighted in an intellectual intercommunion, when he found congenial minds; difference of religion had no influence upon him. His friendly intercourse with the son of the mathematician and astronomer, Abu Muhammmed Dshabasi ben Aflael Asbili, and the disciples of the philosopher. Abubekr el Saig is recorded in the Moreh, II. 9.

Note 32, p. 18.—On the supposed likeness of Maimonides, copied by Reggio (from which copy that subsequently engraven at Berlin was taken), we quote the opinion of the Italian scholar, as given to Herr Solomon Stern, in Berlin. We translate it from the German:—"In the celebrated work Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum Blasei Ugolini, Venetiis 1744, in the first volume, p. 384, is found the likeness of Maimonides, which the author says, was taken "ex antiqua tabula," without, however, stating more fully and circumstantially how he came to the possession of this tabula, where it existed, and if any one bore testimony to the authenticity of the likeness. However, as Ugolinus is known as an industrious, honourable man, acquainted with his subject, and who cannot easily be suspected of fraud, there is nothing against assuming the probability that at the publication of his work he had really before him such a tabula."

Note 33, p. 19.—In his reply to R. Chisdai Halevy Hasphardy of Alexandriah, Maimonides writes, (Iggaroth, Amst. edit., 2nd letter):—"As to thy question concerning the Gentiles, know that God looks to the heart, and matters are judged by the interior of the heart, and therefore have the sages of truth, our Rabbis (peace be upon them), taught, that the pious of the the nations of the world have a portion in the world to come, if they have attained the knowledge of God, which one ought to attain, and if they have cultivated their minds

with good qualities. And there is no doubt that every one that has improved his mind by moral qualities and correct notions in the belief in the Creator, certainly partakes of the world to come. Therefore have also our sages of truth, our Rabbis (peace be unto them), taught, that even a heathen who studies the law of Moses, is like the high priest . . . . . and the object of the law and the commandments is to improve the mind by morality and belief in the Creator . . . . . And there is no doubt that the patriarchs Noah and Adam, although they did not observe the law, were not cast into hell, but because they acquired the requisite notions and moral qualities, they occupy the highest rank." At another time, when asked by a Proselyte whether the Mahomedans were idolators, he replied in the negative, because they believed in the unity of God; and their calumny against the Jews (whom they accuse of ascribing to God a son) does not justify the Jews in charging the Mahometans with a falsehood (see the remarkable letter on p. 44, as also his opinion on the Caraites and Gentiles in general, on pages 45, 46, the same edit.). These views are by no means at variance with the severe denunciations against idolatry and idolators, found in the Hilchoth Akkum, and elsewhere. For, in the first place, it is not Maimonides that speaks in the Mishna Torah, but the Talmud; Maimonides appears there as a compiler, not an original author. Secondly, these denunciations, based as they are on the law, must be considered as a kind of self-defence to prevent Israel from being allured into perdition by the seducing rites of the idolators. If Maimonides considered the Christians of his age as idolators, I think the mistake was quite natural and pardonable. Many Christians of the present age would be disposed to take the same view. How many are there that consider popery as such? And who will blame Maimonides for denouncing those who mercilessly massacred his brethren? It was their inhumanity, not their religion, which rendered the Christian name odious in his eyes. This is evident from a much decried passage not to be found in the printed copies, but said to be in manuscript (V. Wolf. *in loco*), where he justifies his harshness against Christians by the words, "for they distress Israel, and prevent the people from going in the way of the Lord." Indeed, in another passage, likewise said to be found in manuscript only, Maimonides is expressly said to acknowledge the merits of Jesus of Nazareth, for having been instrumental in diffusing the knowledge of the Lord among Heathens. The duty of education ranked with him paramount. The views which he held on it, as laid down in his Shemoneh Perakim, are most comprehensive. Agreeably to the doctrine of the ancients, (Ethics of the Fathers, IV. 7.) he asserted that the law should be taught gratuitously, and that the teachers should support themselves by some other means of livelihood.

Note 34, p. 19.—This disposition of mind is most characteristically exhibited in a letter superscribed to his disciple R. Joseph ben Jehudah (Amsterdam edit. pp. 15 and 16). The impression which remains from the perusal of sentiments betraying such a strange mixture of humility and pride, is that which we endeavoured to convey by the remark which called forth this note.

Note 35, p. 19.—See the letter of Luzzato (Kerem Chemed vol. III.), and the reply by H. R. (Annalen, No. 1, 1840). Although the Italian scholar is too severe in his strictures, yet are they not unfounded. Thus he writes to his son (Iggaroth Harambam I. letter): "And now my son associate only with our brethren the beloved Sephardim called Audalusians, for they are clear-headed and have a sound understanding . . . . Beware also of some of the people dwelling in the west, called Alisarbia, and those places are in the countries of Barbary, for their nature is dry, and they are thick-headed.

But most of all be continually on thy guard against the people that reside between Tunis and Alexandria, and also on the mountains of Barbary, for they are greater fools, in my opinion, than other people, *although they are very strong in faith.*"

Note 36, p. 20.—These sentiments are beautifully exhibited in the last chapter of his Shemoneh Perakim. After recommending moderation in, but not abstemiousness from, enjoyment, he seeks to represent such abstemiousness as irreligious, and declares such as abstain from lawful enjoyments from religious motives, as greatly in error.

Note 37, p. 20.—See note 8.

Note 38, p. 21.—In Casiri (*in loco*) we read, "The book of Ibn. Aflah, on the spheres, he (Maimonides) has very skilfully corrected and cleared from the mistakes which crept into it. He also amended the skilful mathematical writings of the philosopher Ibn Hud, which he provided with supplements, and where wanting he subjoined new demonstrations.

Note 39, p. 22.—The authorities quoted also mention that Maimonides understood Greek, this, however, has been disproved by Geiger (Lehrb. d. Misch. p. 6,) and Dukes (Spr. d. Misch, p. 20).

Ibn-Abi-Oseiba and Abulfaradge relate, that Maimonides knew the whole Koran by heart; and, whilst yet staying in Cordova, publicly taught it to Mahometans (of course in Arabic). A certain Mahometan scholar, in Morocco, boasted that he had heard philosophy under the Jewish philosopher, Abu Amram b. Abdallah. This, as is understood, is the name by which Maimonides is known among the Arab writers. (Annalen, 1840, No. 40.)

Note 40, p. 22.—The learned Dukes found in an old manuscript of the Moreh, (Cod. Heb. Bib. Hamb. N. 264; communicated in the L. B. of the Orient, 1842, N. 9.) the following poem of Maimonides to his favourite disciple rabbi Joseph ben Aknin, which is inscribed:

אל תלמידו החשוב

איך אחריך אמצא מרגוע | כל ראש וכל לבב לך ינוה
לבלוא נפשות ייחלו יום שובך | עם יום פרידה תמנו לנוע
נר החכמים שיר אלי צעק היה | חותם על כל ראש ועל כל אזרע
שפה ברורה מה לך אל עלגים | כי מה לטל חרמון אל גלבוע

The same scholar published in the L. B. to N. 47, of the above periodical, the following two epigrams, the first of which is by Maimonides' opponent, rabbi Yehoodah Alfakhkar, the Prince, and the second a reply by Maimonides.

כפר בנו עמרם והעבר מעל
כי שם אויל כשמך בפינו יעל
הנה בתורת אל נביא אל נביא
בו נקראה נביא נביא הבעל

אחר אשר כל איש בעד הוריו
נקרא שמו נשיא ופורץ פרץ
פרדי בשם נשיא אכנה כי
היה חמור אביו נשיא הארץ

Note 41, p. 26.—A description of this town according to Benjamin of Tudela will not be out of place. We borrow it from Mr. Asher's rendering in his edition of R. B. Itenarary, (vol. I. p. 43,) "From thence it is two days to Har Goash, or Montpellier, a city conveniently situated for the purposes of trade. being within two parasangs from the coast. You there meet with Christian and Mahometan merchants from all parts; from Algarve, (Portugal) Lombardy, the Roman empire, from Egypt, Palestine, Greece, France, Spain, and England. People of all languages are met there principally in consequence of the traffic of the Genoese and of the Pisans. The Jews of that city belong to the wisest and most esteemed of the present generation." Rabbi Benjamin then mentions some distinguished Jewish inhabitants of the place and concludes "others are also very rich and benevolent towards all those who apply for assistance,"

Note 42, p. 26.—This word is Arabic, signifying the potter, and this was the surname by which the physician went.

Note 43, p.29.--Agreeably to the cruel manners of the age, their tongues were cut out; See Kerem Chemed first letter, p, 39, also, the letter of R. Abraham, son of Moimonides.

Note 44, p. 31.—Steinschneider conjectures the name of the place to be Huesca, or Osco, in Arragonia, where 300 Jewish frmilies were settled at the time of Adereth, (Zunz Zschr, f. jud. Wiss., p. 134.)

Note 45, p. 32.—Steinschneider alludes to various instances of corruptiou of texts, and points out a glaring one in Succah, v. 8, where he succeeded to restore the correct reading. The text before us has יאריב, a word which makes no sense, but the correct reading is יא דיב (Arabic), meaning "O wolf."

The subsequent remarks were added after the work had gone to press.

Page 2, line 24.—Some take this passage in a different sense (S. Geig. Zeitschr. II. p. 125, v. 136, 107, and 115.

Page 7, line 21.—By mistake the Hebrew word שמד was translated "persecution," instead of "Apostacy." The mistake has, however, been corrected in the appended note.

Note to page 11, line 2.—Steinschneider pointed out a passage in Zunz, "Zur Gesch., etc." (p. 476), from which it appears that Samuel Ebn Tibbon, was a native of Lunel, and not, as generally supposed, of Marseilles.

Maimonides constructed a Map of the Frontiers of Palestine. (Zunz, "On Geographical Literature of Jews," inserted in Asher's edition of "Benjamin of Tudela")

Meldola, Cahn, and Co., Printers, 18, St. Mary Axe, City.

ENUMERATION OF WORKS CONTAINING INFORMATION

RELATIVE TO

MAIMONIDES,

FROM

THE GERMAN OF M. STEINSCHNEIDER.

NOTE.—Only such works have been noticed as do not incidentally mention Maimonides, but give some account of him or his writings.

I. ARABIC.

A. Abdallatif, a contemporary of Maimonides, went, in 1190, to Kahira, in order to see three individuals, one of whom was Maimonides. (See Sacy, p. 465; also German, by Chwolsohn, Orient, L. B. VII, 355)

K. El Kifti was a friend of Ioseph ben Aknin, but his account is rendered somewhat suspicious by his superstitious character (See Casiri I., p. 29; also German, by Chwolsohn, ibid., p. 338).

O. Ibn Obi Oseiba, the celebrated medical historian, whom Wustenfeld chiefly followed in his work (S. Sacy ad Abdall, p. 490; also German, by Chwolsohn, Orient, ibid., 350.

Makrisi (See Sacy, Chrest., or Tp. 103, 107; Chwolsohn, Orient, ibid., p. 377).

B. R. Abulfarage ben Hebræus was the son of a Jew, and no favourable reporter; however he follows mostly El Kifti (See Rapaport Nathan, נציבין, p. 70; Hist. Dynastar, p. 454; Asseman. Catolog. Flor., p. 379; rendered in German, by Chwols., p. 375).

II. ANCIENT HEBREW AUTHORS.

The beginning is made by Isaac Israeli (here, to a certain extent, ranks also Menachem ben Serach, on account of nis introduction, Tseda Laderekh,). The others, Zakut, &c., are known. The notes of Cassel to Conforte's, כורח'ד, page 12, contain some references. To the more modern belongs Asulai, I. פ 4—10. Gedalia Jahia is fabulous in his usual manner.

MODERN WRITINGS.

Hb. Herb. Majemun, III., 260.

Wf. Bibl. Hebr., N. 1594, et III. 1580, b. I. 1623, 1651, III., 1507, c. 21, b.

Ro. De Rossi Diz. Stor. degli ant. ar., p. 118.

Amoureux Essai Hist. et Lit. sur la medicine des Arabes, Montpellier, 1805 (principally drawn from Herb.), p. 134 (from Casiri), p. 139 (from Haller Bibl. Pract. T. I).

Mich. Berr. Notice sur Maimon in Magasin Encyclop. 1815, Mercure Etranger, Febr. 1816.

P. Beer Leben und Wirken des R. Mos., &ct., Prague, 1834, has the merit of having called forth the excellent criticism of Dernburg, and the valuable additions of Geiger, Rapaport, and others, Geig. Zeitschr. I. and II.

Bukofzer's "Maimonider," &c., Berlin, 1844, must be considered as a failure.

Carmoly has written on Maimonides in the Annalen of 1839-40.

Wustenfelds "Gebh. der Arab. Aerzt." (S. §. 198).

Zunz. Benj. of Tud. (edit. Asher) 'I., p. 254.

Wr. Wenrich, de Auctor, Graceor., &c., Lips. 1842, p. 114.

Carmoly's "Hist. de Medec. Arabes," Bruselles, 1844 (also Revue Orientale, T. I.—III., Bruselles, 1841-3). The anthor repeats here the statements made in the Annalen. Following Wustenfeld and Carmoly, Brug has written a Dissert. Inaug. (Hallis, 1843), in which he treats, "De Medicis Illustr. Indeor, qui inter Arabes viverunt." This writer, however fell into some errors avoided by his guides.

Munk, in his notice snr Jos. ben Jehuda (Par. 1841), has furnished new valuable materials, but has, at the same time, revived several of the old charges against Maimonides. In defence of the latter, Lebrecht, of Berlin, wrote "Zur Gesch. des Iuwelenhandels," in the "Magazin f. Lit. des Auslandes, 1844, N. 45 and 62" (reprinted in Sulamith XX., p. 28), "Ueber die Apostasie Maimonides'." Previously to this the two scholars had been ngaged in a controversy, in which L. showed that Maimonides had not been e pupil of Ibn Roshd.

In August, 1844, Steinschneider wrote an article on the Life of Maimonides and his works, which appeared in 1845, in the Ost. Bl. Subsequently he published a Criticism on Munk's "Notice," which appeared in Dr. Frankels' Zeitschr. 1845.

On the views held by Maimonides on Judaism, and the position occupied by him, Luzzato and Rapaport, have written articles which may be read in the Annalen and Kerem Chemed (VI. p. 110).

A meritorious attempt for a better understanding of Maimonides' views is Scheyers "Psychology of Maimonides" (Frankfurt. 1845).

Some valuable materials have also been furnished in the notes to Maamar Hayichud, appended by the learned editor.

Note of the translator. Information on Maimonides, his writings, and various excellent translations of portions of Maimonides' writings, are also to be found *passim* in the volumes of the Hebrew Review.

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1388
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

REC'D LD-URL

QL APR 15 1990

FEB 07 1991

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
A 000 132 359 1

Univers
Soutl
Libi